

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA**

Central Archaeological Library

NEW DELHI

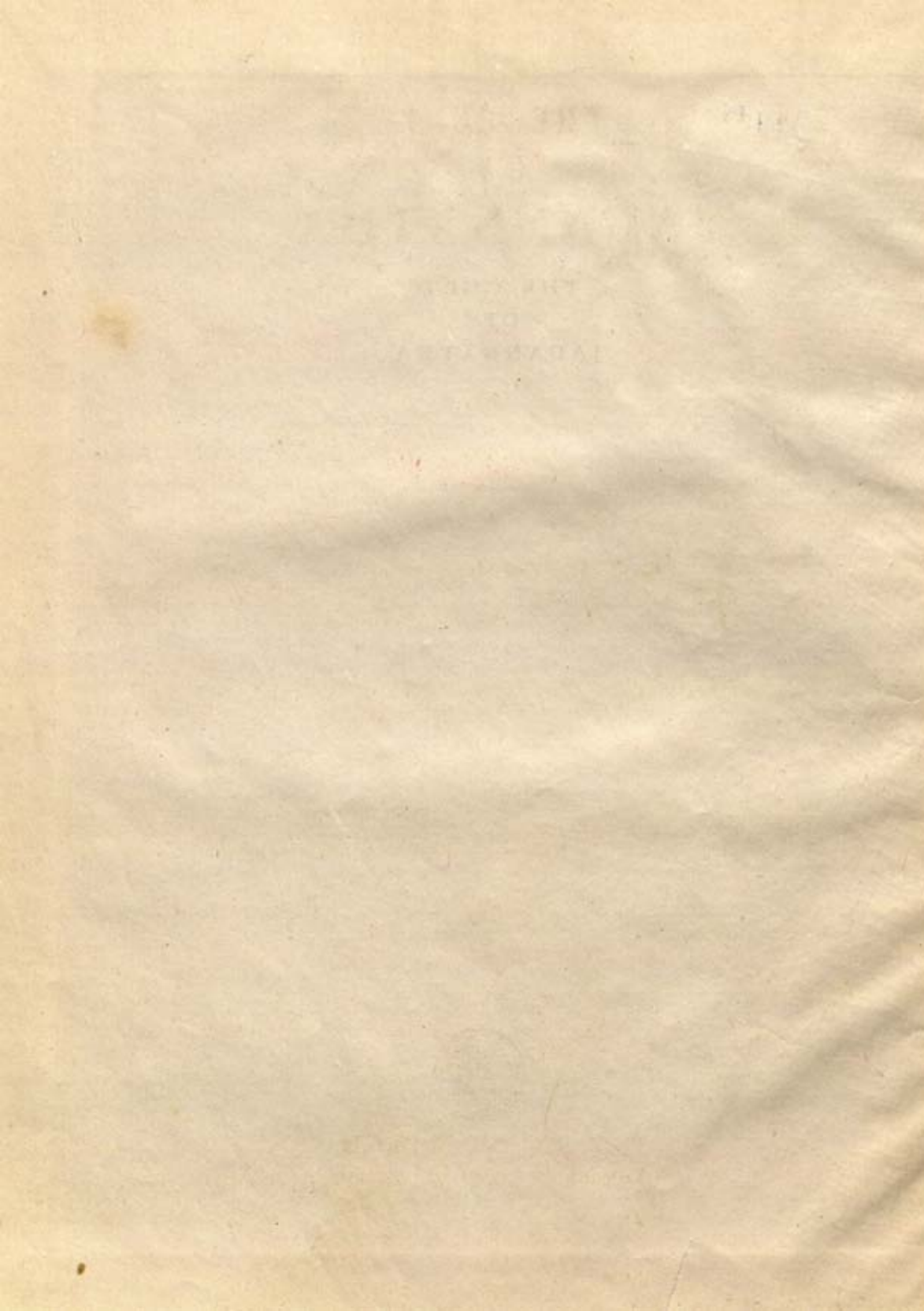
ACC. NO. 74042

CALL NO. 294.55/Mis

D.G.A. 79

31/7/87

74042



~~244~~

# THE CULT OF JAGANNĀTHA

74012

K. C. MISHRA, M.A., D.Phil. (Cal.)  
*Ravenshaw College, Cuttack*



294.55

Mis



FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY  
Calcutta                    ::                    1971



18/5/08

~~244~~

---

THE CULT  
OF  
JAGANNATHA

*Thesis approved by the Calcutta University  
for D.Phil. Degree*

1st. Edition 1971

© K. C. Mishra, Cuttack

74042  
अर्वाप्त सख्या  
विदेश सख्या  
दिनांक... 31/7/87  
29455  
निसिदहली  
केन्द्रीय पुरातत्व पस्तकालय

Rs. 45.00

Published by

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY

6/1A, Dhiren Dhar Sarani, Calcutta, India

Printed in India

by S. K. Bhattacharya at Sri Ramkrishna Printing Works  
19, S. N. Banerjee Road, Calcutta-13

*Dedicated with a deep debt of gratitude  
to*

*My Revered Professor*

Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,

*National Professor of India*

*who has encouraged me at every stage  
of the development of this Thesis*





## FOREWORD

I have known for some years Professor Kanhu Charan Misra, Professor of Oriya Language and Literature at Ravenshaw College in Cuttack. Prof. Misra has been a very close student of history, culture, art and religion of Orissa. This year he got his Doctorate from the University of Calcutta on a very unique work namely on 'The Cult of Jagannātha'. Puri or Jagannātha is one of the pan-Indian Hindu religious centres and shrines, and it is of primary importance in modern Hindu corporate as well as personal religious life. It has a long tradition with regard to its ritual of daily worship. The temple has its beginnings in the age of the Keshari kings of Orissa—over 1500 years from now, and the present temple was built by the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa, Ananta Varman Choda Gangadeva, who ruled from 1074-1154 approximately. The Jagannātha temple was built on the ruins of an earlier temple built by the Keshari Emperor, Yayati Keshari and seems to have been erected in its present form near about 1000 A.D. The traditions of daily worship and other matters connected with the religious service has thus had a continuous development for near about 900 years.

This book is a unique production, and the first one of its kind in English language. The temple of Jagannātha is known all over the world, and people are interested in its history and its religious surroundings. It is a very complicated system, almost like that of a little state within a big state, and everything has been very well organised since the time of its foundation. Prof. Misra has been in close touch with the temple ever since his childhood and he knows how the temple carries on its daily ritual of worship, and he is also familiar both with the outward forms as well as the inner meanings of the ritual. He is therefore specially qualified to write on this subject working under an eminent scholar of Indian religion and religious art like Prof. Jitendra Nath Banerjee, retired Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. Prof. Misra has produced a very valuable monograph on the subject. He has illustrated it with a number of photographs as well as special paintings which he got executed to indicate various aspects of temple worship. Within the limits of one volume he has given everything that is worth knowing about the temple and its history and ritual and its place in Hindu life.

A book like this is expected to interest not only the Hindu people all over India but also those foreigners who have a curiosity—whether of the scholar or of the ordinary lay man—to know something about the surroundings of one of the great centres of religious worship in the world. As such I feel confident that this book, when published, will have a very great appeal for all sorts of readers, both in India and abroad. I would recommend the publication of this book either by some department of the Government or by some enterprising private firm, and I am sure its publication will be looked upon as quite an event in the domain of Indological studies.

April 15, 1965.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI



## SYNOPSIS

The thesis consisting of seven chapters and seven appendices is an extensive as well as comprehensive study of the evolution of the Cult of Jagannātha viewed from various standpoints—historical, archæological and epigraphical, religious, socio-cultural and literary.

While dealing with the religious aspect of the subject, the religious condition of India as a whole dating from the Asokan period upto the present times has been studied with special emphasis on the culmination of the country-wide tradition in the Cult of Jagannātha.

The Philosophical and theological aspect of the subject is an analytical and intensive treatment of the relevant portions from the Vedas, Āgamas, Tantras, Purāṇas, Buddhistic and Jainistic scriptures as well as Oriya literature from its earliest stage upto the medieval period focussing on the diverse intellectual aspects of the Cult.

In its literary aspect the thesis is a close scrutiny as well as an authentic interpretation of Oriya literature ranging over a period of 200 years from pre-Sarla Das age to the age of the Pancha Sakhas with proper citations and conclusive inferences.



The history of the Republic of the United States of America is a story of the growth of a great nation from a small colony of English settlers on the eastern coast of North America. The story begins with the first English settlers in 1607, who founded the Jamestown colony in Virginia. They were followed by other settlers, and by 1776, the thirteen original colonies had declared their independence from Great Britain.

The new nation was faced with many challenges, including the need to establish a strong central government. The Articles of Confederation, the first constitution, proved to be weak and ineffective. In 1787, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia drafted a new constitution, which was ratified in 1788. This new constitution established a strong federal government with three branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial.

The new government was tested by the War of 1812, a conflict with Great Britain. The war ended in a draw, but it established the United States as a major power in the world. In the years following the war, the United States expanded its territory westward, acquiring new lands from France, Spain, and Mexico.

The United States continued to grow and develop, and by the mid-19th century, it was a major industrial power. However, the country was also facing serious problems, including the issue of slavery. The debate over slavery led to the Civil War, which began in 1861 and ended in 1865. The war resulted in the abolition of slavery and the preservation of the Union.

Following the Civil War, the United States entered a period of rapid growth and development. The country expanded its territory further, and its economy continued to grow. By the end of the 19th century, the United States was a major world power, and its influence was felt around the globe.

## PREFACE

The origin and the cult of the mysterious deities of Jagannātha, Balābhadrā and Subhadrā of Puri have engaged the minds of scholars for centuries. Neither in the early historical accounts, nor in the ancient Indian texts upto the 5th or 6th century A.D. do we get any explicit reference to these deities. The Agamas or the early Purāṇas do not contain any clear reference to the rituals and the iconographic features of these peculiar images of Puri though, in some of them, some implicit allusions to these deities are found.

Many scholars have worked on the historical background of the worship of Jagannātha. Mention may be made here of the notable ones among them, W. H. Hunter, A. S. Sterling, MM. Sadasiva Mishra of Puri, R. L. Mitra, R. D. Banerjee, M. M. Ganguli, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Pandit Kedarnath Mahapatra, Dr. Nabin Kumar Sahu, Dr. H. K. Mahatab, Pandit Suryanarayana Das, Dr. Benimadhava Padhi, Gurudas Sarkar, Sundarananda Vidyavinoda, Dr. D. C. Sircar etc. In spite of all these previous attempts to trace the origin of the cult, there is still much scope for original research about its obscure beginning and development. It is no exaggeration to say that, the early history of Orissa is still, to a great extent, dark. I had long been contemplating to do some original work on this topic and had been patiently collecting materials for the purpose. I was fortunate enough to get the close guidance of the late lamented Dr. J. N. Banerjee, Retired Carmaichæl Professor of History and Religion of Calcutta University in this matter and I have followed his advice and instructions to the best of my ability.

The history of the religious development of Orissa, which was in ancient days known as Kālīṅga with its subdivisions of Tosali, Kongoda and Dakshina Kosala, could not be properly dealt with on account of the paucity of data. To study the history of religion in this country, we have to consider two important factors, one connected with its general history and the other with its ethnology. The original inhabitants of this region were some aboriginal tribes whose faith differed from that of the subsequent settlers. But, in course of time there came about an admixture of religious beliefs and practices, which moulded the religious concepts of the indigenous people to a great extent. I have, therefore, tried to



explain the synthetic growth of the religious spirit in this land of Orissa through the influence of animism, Brahminism and Buddhism.

Another important aspect which I have considered, while explaining the gradual development of the Cult of Jagannātha, is the form of the worship of the 'Trinity'. This aspect of the Cult, I may humbly state, has not been given due consideration by previous scholars. I have shown in the first chapter that, in days of yore there prevailed the belief in Orissa that each Rāṣṭra (kingdom) was protected by a deity that was considered to be its supreme authority. The deity was installed in the capital and members of the royal family used to worship him. If the deity had originally been installed by some aboriginal tribes, it was patronised by the kings who allowed these tribal people to continue their services in the temple in some form or other. The result is that, many deities in Orissa upto the present times continue to be worshipped by the tribal people although they have in the aryanised form been accepted as the presiding deities (Rāṣṭradevatās) of particular kingdoms long since. It may not be out of place to mention here that the religious concepts of the people changed from time to time, and with these changes new ideas crept into the minds, thus emphasising the composite character of their faith. The synthetic Cult of Jagannātha testifies to the assimilation of diverse religious concepts. It became so great a religious factor in the lives of the people of Eastern India and parts of Southern India, that various temples have been built in these regions housing exact replicas of the sacred icons of the Puri temple. Mention may be made here of the comparatively modern temples of Jagannāthapur (Ranchi, Bihar), Mahesh (Bengal), Cocanada (Andhra), Rajim (Madhyapradesh), Kathmandu (Nepal), Ahmedabad (Gujrat) etc. Moreover, the deities installed in course of time became so popular that the sanctity of their seats has been highly proclaimed in literature. It is needless to emphasise that, in almost every part of Orissa, temples of Jagannātha are found to have been established.

I have discussed at length the modification of Tantrism and Buddhism which culminated in the Vaiṣṇavism of Orissa under the influence of great teachers like Sankaracharya, Ramanujācharya, Mādhva and Chaitanya. All their associations contributed to the growth and development of the composite Cult of Jagannātha.

I have divided this work into seven chapters :

- (i) Background of the Cult of Jagannātha
- (ii) History of Jagannātha
- (iii) Jagannātha in tradition
- (iv) Temple and the Icon
- (v) Temple administration, rites and festivals



(vi) Mode of worship

(vii) Theology.

I have added to these chapters seven short appendices dealing with such topics as :

1. Bhogas of the Jagannātha temple, Dresses and Ornaments.
2. The impact of the Cult of Jagannātha on the socio-religious life of Orissa.
3. Jagannātha in Inscriptions and Literature.
4. Ekānāmsā and Subhadrā.
5. Desecration of the Jagannātha Temple.
6. Chatīśā Niyoga (36 kinds of temple attendants).
7. List of Maṭhas at Puri.

I have treated in brief outline, the various ritualistic traits and practices as well as the present system of the temple administration before coming to the discussion of the theology underlying the Cult of Jagannātha. While giving the detailed account of the mode of worship, I have laid stress on the worship of "Om̐kāra" or "Prajñā" and have tried to analyse the philosophy of the pañca-sakhās with reference to the Cult of Jagannātha as propagated by them. I have also suggested how this deity was known as Purusottama in early Gaṅga period and Purusottama-Jagannātha in later Gaṅga period and only Jagannātha in the Sūrya-vaṁśī period. Now the deity as well as the Kṣetra is known as Jagannātha in India. The appendices deal with topics which are intimately connected with the cult as is in vogue at present. Thus, I may humbly state that, I have approached the subject from different points of view in my own way.

In course of my continuous work on the theme, I have been helped and encouraged by various scholars of repute, the foremost among them being my guide and supervisor late Dr. J. N. Banerjea who is no more to see this book published. I may also mention in this connection, the names of such distinguished scholars as the National Professor Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Pandit Satyanarayana Rajguru, Dr. P. K. Parija, Dr. K. C. Panigrahi, Dr. N. K. Sahu, Shri S. K. Chattopadhyaya, Shri S. N. Rath, Pradhanacharya late Pandit Anand Mishra, who have given useful suggestions to me. My thanks are due to Sri Gouri Sankara Bhattacharya, and also to Pandit K. Sankar Sarma of the National Library for his help in connection with the collection of some data.

I am specially grateful to my Professor Dr. S. K. Chatterji who was so kind to write a foreword of this book.

I am thankful to my friend Shri Trilochana Mishra, Reader in English, for having gone through the manuscript before it was sent to the Press and to my student,—Shri Raj Kishore Mishra, Department of English, B. J. B.



College, Bhubaneswar for taking pains in preparing the Index of the Book. I express my thankfulness to the Board of Revenue, Cuttack and the authorities of Jagannātha Temple, Puri, for having permitted me to utilise some relevant records and to prepare some sketches of the sculptures and images inside the temple. I thank Shri Asutosh Sinha in this regard for the photographs. I am also indebted to the Government of Orissa and particularly to Shri Nityananda Mohapatra, the-then Minister, Cultural Affairs for their kind patronage. Last, but not the least, my thanks go to Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay for whom this book now comes to light.

*Candana Purnimā, Monday*  
*10. 5. 1971*

K. C. Mishra

Read: free from cigarette unit, ministry of education, New Delhi.

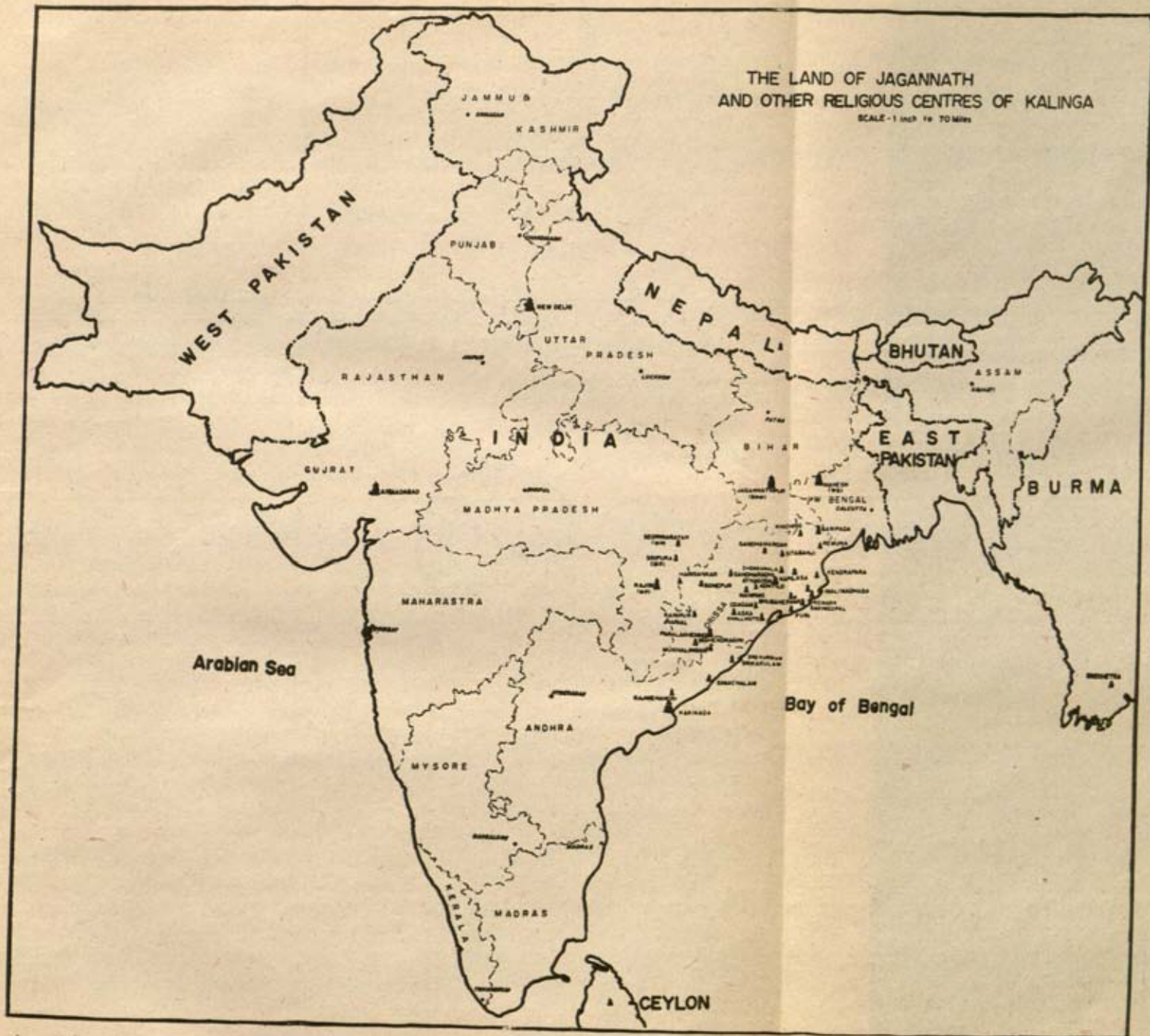
## CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Chapter I</i>	
Background of the Cult of Jagannātha	1
<i>Chapter II</i>	
The History of Jagannātha	30
<i>Chapter III</i>	
Jagannātha in Tradition	71
<i>Chapter IV</i>	
The Temple and the Icon	101
<i>Chapter V</i>	
Temple Administration, Rites and Festivals	120
<i>Chapter VI</i>	
Mode of Worship	143
<i>Chapter VII</i>	
Theology	156
<i>Appendices</i>	
I Bhogas of the Jagannātha Temple, Dresses and Ornaments	193
II The impact of the Cult of Jagannātha on the socio-religious life of Orissa	205
III Jagannātha in Inscription and Literature	209
IV Ekānāmsā and Subhadrā	216
V Desecration of the Jagannātha Temple	220
VI Chatishāniyoga	223
VII List of Maṭhas at Puri	228
Select Bibliography	233
List of Abbreviations	239
Index	241





THE LAND OF JAGANNATH  
AND OTHER RELIGIOUS CENTRES OF KALINGA  
SCALE - 1 inch to 70 miles



74042







## CHAPTER I

## BACKGROUND OF THE CULT OF JAGANNĀTHA

In tracing the background of the cult of Jagannātha, it is necessary to have some idea of the historical geography of the land. The different parts of Orissa, the land of Jagannātha, assumed different names in different periods of history. Its coastal strip, comprising the valley of the river Vaitaraṇī, was known as Kaliṅga, which is evident from the Indian epic, *Mahābhārata*<sup>1</sup>. This ancient name Kaliṅga, was also in vogue in the time of Aśoka. After his conquest of Kaliṅga, Aśoka appears to have divided it into two parts, Northern and Southern Kaliṅga, the headquarters of which were located in Toṣali and Somāpā respectively<sup>2</sup>.

From the early medieval copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhauma kings of Orissa we know that they ruled the country of Toṣali comprising Koṅgada when, to the south of their territory, Kaliṅga extended up to the modern district of Vizagapatam and was ruled by the early Gaṅgas. From the Bhauma records we further know that the country of Toṣali was divided into two parts, such as Southern and Northern Toṣali, Koṅgada being a part of the former.<sup>3</sup>

"Odra Viṣaya", from which the present name, Orissa, was derived, formed a part of northern Toṣali in the early medieval period.<sup>4</sup> The Western portion of modern Orissa, roughly comprising the upper Mahānadi Valley, was known as Dakṣiṇa Kośala and it was integrated with Toṣali or the coastal strip of Orissa during the later part of the Somavaṃśī rule. Among these broad territorial divisions, there were also smaller ones which bore different names in different periods of the history of Orissa. The northern portion of the present-day Orissa was known as Utkal and it was contiguous to Daṇḍabhukti or the Midnapore district. The southern portion of the present districts of Ganjam and Puri was known as Koṅgada. During the medieval period the name Kaliṅga again was applied to the territory situated roughly between the southern limits of Koṅgada and the river Godāvarī. The whole of the geographical unit of Orissa became the field of origin and development of the great cult of Śrī Jagannātha.

In the early stage of its development the cult remained confined to these territorial limits though it gradually spread to the contiguous regions along with the



expansion of the imperial power of the Gaṅgas. Our study of the history of this cult will be incomplete without a general survey of the growth and development of different religions, which ultimately led to the synthetic culture symbolised in the great institution of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. A close study of the archaeological, and literary sources of the history of Orissa reveals that, centuries before the birth of Christ, Kalinga was the cradle of various religions. Some of her children appear to have come in personal contact with the great Buddha in his life-time. The Burmese legends credit Tapasu and Bhallika, two merchants of Utkal, with the rare privilege of receiving the doctrine of Buddhism from the Lord Buddha himself.<sup>5</sup>

In the great religious and intellectual stir of the 6th century B.C., Kalinga appears to have been associated with Buddha and Mahāvīra, and to have played a conspicuous role in the history of India. The Jaina work, *Haribhadriya Vṛtti*, tells us that the king of Kalinga, who was a friend of Mahāvīra's father, invited Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, to propagate the main tenets of Jainism in his land. In later age the two religions connected with Buddha and Mahāvīra received due patronage from the state of Kalinga under Aśoka and Khāravela respectively. The driving force of Buddhism in Kalinga which turned Chaṇḍāśoka into Dharmāśoka was never limited by a sectarian outlook. It impressed upon Aśoka that tolerance is the key-note of a great religious order. Thus he repents in his rock edict No. XIII "for the injury or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones, of the lot of Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas and the adherents of the other sects".<sup>7</sup> It may be presumed that the great change which came over the mind of that great Emperor of Magadha was not an abrupt and sudden occurrence, but a gradual outcome of the teachings and influence of some learned scholars of Kalinga, whose principles were based on sympathy and tolerance towards people. Even the great Jaina monarch, Khāravela, whose empire extended far and wide, adopted the same age-old spirit of religious tolerance. In the Hātigumphā inscription of the first century B.C. it is stated that Khāravela respected every sect, and it was he who repaired many Deva Temples.<sup>8</sup>

The history of Orissa in the post-Khāravela period has not yet come to light owing to paucity of evidence. The religious condition of India, however, is known to some extent from the famous Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta of the 4th century A.D., which gives a vivid account of the imperial activities of that Gupta monarch.<sup>9</sup> The Guptas were probably responsible for the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism not only in Kalinga but also in the whole of India. A study of the inscriptions of the pre-medieval age reveals that some Gupta rulers worshipped Viṣṇu as Mādhava. In the Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena, it is stated that a Gupta monarch, Mādhavagupta, was a worshipper of Mādhava. In lines 11 and 12 of that inscription, we find a verse *Vāsudevād = iva tasmāch = chhri-s(e) vana*



[So (?)] bh-[0]ditacarāṇa-yugaḥ Śrī-Mādhavagupta = bhūn = Mādhava iva Vikram-aikarasa [h]. Fleet translates it as follows: "As (the God) Mādhava, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the Goddess) Śrī, (was born) from Vāsudeva, so from him there was (a son), the illustrious Mādhavagupta, finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the attentions of the Goddess of fortune".<sup>10</sup>

Mādhavagupta, who was a contemporary of Harṣavardhana, lived in the time of Śaśāṅka of Kārnasuvarṇa. Śaśāṅka was the overlord of Mādhavavarman, a king of the Śailodbhava family of Kōṅgada Maṇḍala (Orissa). In his Ganjam plates, Mādhavavarman describes himself as a subordinate king under Śaśāṅka in the Gupta era 300 (A.D. 620)<sup>11</sup>. It is, thus, not improbable that the Mādhava cult which was popular in the kingdom of the Guptas also influenced the Śailodbhavas. In the Pattam plates of Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, a contemporary of the Guptas of northern India, we find the following passage:

"Mahāpuruṣa-pādamūla satripayojyam (Payojanī) Nārāyaṇa  
Rajavijñāpēna (vijñāpya) dattam (dattani)"

Mirashi, while editing these plates, interprets that the Viṣṇu referred to here is the Mahāpuruṣapāda or Mahāpuruṣapādamūla. It proves that the donor, Pravarasena, was a worshipper of Viṣṇu.<sup>12</sup>

In the Eran stone-pillar inscription of Budha Gupta of the Gupta *saṃvat* 165 (A.D. 485) the invocation verse runs as follows:

"Jayati, Vibhus = catur = bhujas = catur = āṇava-  
vipula-salila-paryyāṅkaḥ = jagataḥsthi-  
utpotti = lalya (ny-adi) hetur = garuḍaketu.

"Victorious is the Lord, the four-armed (God Viṣṇu) whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, etc. of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuḍa."<sup>13</sup>

A similar expression regarding the qualities of Gokarṇeśvara (Śiva) is found in the epithets recorded in the Śvetaka branch of the early Gaṅga kings of Kāliṅga which runs as follows<sup>14</sup>:

"Om ! svasti ! Se (śve) ta(ta) [kā] dhiṣṭhānā-  
dbhagavatas = carācaraguru [h] sa (śa) śāṅka-  
śekharadharasyaḥ (syo) thī (sthi) tyutpati (tti)-  
pralayakāraṇa hetor = Mahendrāchalaśikha-  
ranivāsinaḥ īrīmad gokarṇe (ṇṇe) śo (śva) ra-  
bhāṭṭārakasya"



From the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, we learn that his expedition to the south began at Prayāga and passed through Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Mahākāntāra, Mahendra, and Kurāla. He reached as far as the river Tel from which point the Mahākāntāra region extended towards the Mahendra mountain in Orissa.<sup>15</sup> Immediately after crossing the country of Mahākāntāra, the Gupta monarch defeated a petty king at Kurāla, identified with the present Kulāḍa, the headquarters of the Bhanja kings of Ghumsara in Ganjam (Orissa).<sup>16</sup> He arrived at the Mahendra mountain where he liberated several petty kings captured by him. The route of his expedition to the south establishes the fact that from Allahabad (Pratiṣṭhāna) in the north to the Mahendra mountain in southern Orissa (Kaliṅga), there was a highway in those days through which passed not only the army of the Gupta monarch, but also the Brāhmaṇas and many high caste people.

In the region of the Mahendra, there lived some kings of a royal dynasty, known as Māṭhara, that started its rule from the 4th century A.D. and acquired supreme power in the territory immediately after the expedition of Samudragupta. They were contemporaries of the Guptas, the Parivrājakas and the Nalas of Madhyabhārata who happened to be the great promoters of Vaiṣṇavism in the central portions of India.<sup>17</sup>

The Māṭharas played an important role in the political history of Kaliṅga. They are believed to have established matrimonial ties with the contemporary kings of Veṅgi who lived in the regions of the Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā and performed Aśvamedha sacrifice with the help of the newly migrated Brāhmaṇas of northern India.<sup>18</sup>

The Māṭharas used the royal title of *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati* and *Pitrpadānu-dhyāta*. From a copper-plate inscription of Śaktivarman of this dynasty, we come to learn that he was a devout worshipper of the God, Nārāyaṇa.<sup>19</sup> The kingdom of the Māṭharas roughly extended from the river Mahānadi in the north to the river Kṛṣṇā in the south.

The Māṭharas ruled in Kaliṅga prior to the migration of the Gaṅgas during the 4th or 5th century A.D. Their capital was known as Simhapura according to their inscriptions.<sup>20</sup> From Ceylonese chronicles we come to know that a certain Simhabāhu migrated from Kaliṅga and established a kingdom there, after which there was close association between the royal families of Ceylon and Kaliṅga. The Māṭharas embraced Bhāgavatism and became worshippers of the God Nārāyaṇa, but from Ceylonese records it is apparent that they also followed Buddhism. Any way, one peculiarity which we should not overlook is the aboriginal influence of the Śabaras or the Pulindas on the religious spheres of Kaliṅga and Ceylon. V. R.



Ramchandra Dikshitar in his paper<sup>21</sup> on "South India and Ceylon" writes : "there is still a village near Ratnapur (in Ceylon) named Havaragama, probably Śavara-grāma, which reminds us of a Śabara settlement. The Śabaras and the Pulindas were forest tribes in south India according to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa ; so, this may point out to a migration of these tribes from South India. Further, the Mahāvamśa explains the origin of the Pulindas as rising out of the two children of Vijaya by Yakkhiṇī Kubeṇi. It sounds to reason to take that the Vedddhas of modern Ceylon are akin to these ancient tribes of Śabaras and Pulindas of South India."<sup>22</sup>

These Pulindas, according to Dikshitar, worshipped two Gods : Puradeva, whose other name is Vyādha Deva, and Murugan.<sup>23</sup> The names Puradeva and Vyādha Deva etymologically may mean the deity which was named Puruṣa Deva and which was worshipped by Vyādhas or Kirātas originally. The origin of the second deity, Murugan, according to Dikshitar, is traced to the cult of the Nāgas. He observes :

"If we turn to the page of Tirumurugarrupadai in honour of Murugan, we see that this God is propitiated by the sacrifices of fowls, goats and toddy drink. The worship is done by the mystic finger signs (vide Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 144). It may be presumed that the dominant Murugan cult became blended with Serpent cult of the Nāgas, so much so that we associate the Serpent with Murugan cult now-a-days. Need it be said that the Murugan cult was a distinct contribution of South India to Ceylon."<sup>24</sup>

Regarding the association of Siṃhapura of Kaliṅga and the Bāhu family of Ceylon, it is known from the *Silappadhikāram* and *Maṇimekhalai* that thirty years after ruling the island of Siṃhala the king Vijaya died leaving no issue, but he expressed at the time of his death, that his brother Sumitta, who had become a king of Siṃhala of Kaliṅga, should succeed him. So, according to the wish of Vijaya, Sumitta sent his son, Pāṇḍu Vāsudeva, to Laṅkā where he received royal honours and was crowned king. He married a daughter of the king of Kośala who was a disciple of the Lord Buddha (vide the *Mahāvamśa*).

From these accounts of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. we infer that the contact of the royal families of Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga and Ceylone resulted in the mutual influence on religion through the agency of some aboriginal tribes who had previously worshipped their own Gods in both countries.<sup>25</sup>

As we said before, the kingdom of the Mātharas roughly extended from the Mahānadi in the north to the Kṛṣṇā in the south. This is supported by the fact that their grants have been discovered in the districts of Śrīkākulam in Andhra, and Ganjam in Orissa.<sup>26</sup> From the study of some copper-plate inscriptions of these



kings, we further learn that a certain Prabhañjanavarman was a worshipper of Nārāyaṇa (*Bhāgavatsvāmi-Nārāyaṇa-Pādānudhyātā*),<sup>27</sup> and that the two kings of the same family, viz. Nanda Prabhañjanavarman and Chaṇḍavarman, were *Paramabhāgavatas*.<sup>28</sup> The use of the epithets pertaining to Vaiṣṇavism is very significant for the study of the early history of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. It is evident that, for the first time, Vaiṣṇavism was patronised in Kalinga by the Mātharas who also used the titles of *Paramadaivata*.<sup>29</sup> According to scholars, the expression, "*Daivatam Devatānāṁ*", in the *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma* possibly shows that the epithet *Daivatam* is a Vaiṣṇavite term.<sup>30</sup>

The main parts of the territory of the Mātharas extended all around the Mahendra mountain, where they might have installed their family deity, like the Gaṅgas who immediately succeeded them. As a matter of fact, the small temple at the top of the Mahendra mountain (Photo 1) from archaeological point of view, belongs to the earliest age of temple architecture in Orissa.<sup>31</sup> This temple, with a unique type of architectural form, is complete only with seven huge cut pieces of stones and apparently belongs to the Gupta period. A similar miniature temple, made out of only nine cut stones, is also found on the top of the hill in the village of Jagamaṇḍā, near Gunupur in Koraput district (Orissa). It is interesting to note that a small inscription was found on that temple and in it we read the name of Dharmakīrti, possibly the same Dharmakīrti, a Buddhist monk of Kalinga, who defeated Kumārilabhaṭṭa.<sup>32</sup> It is, therefore, possible that the said temple was built some time before Dharmakīrti. We have thus enough reason to believe that the temple on the Mahendra mountain was constructed during or before the time of the Māthara rulers of Kalinga, who were Bhāgavatas. They might have worshipped the image of Viṣṇu in the shape of Mādhava or Nārāyaṇa in that temple, although a Liṅgam instead of a Vaiṣṇavite image is now installed there. The question arises, whether Nārāyaṇa or Mādhava, the popular god of Kalinga of the Māthara period, was installed on the top of the hill as the family deity of the Māthara kings, or was it a subsidiary god worshipped in some part of the neighbouring plain. We would like to point out that in the days of the Mātharas, the Mahendra mountain had already become an important seat of religion. This is proved by the copper-plate inscriptions which record that it was an abode of the *Siddhas*, the *Sādhakas* and the *tapasvis*, "*prasiddha-Siddhatapasādhyaṅgila-kandarodara-Mahendra-giriśikhara-śekharaśya-surāśura-guṛṣakala tribhuvana-mahāprāsāda-nirmāṇaika-sūtradhāraśya-bhagavato Gokarṇa-svāminah*."<sup>33</sup> So, the top of the Mahendra was not an uninhabited tract, covered with jungle, but a place frequented by *yogis* and *tapasvis*, and also visited by pilgrims on their way to religious shrines.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Vana-Parva, (Ch. 114), we find that the Pāṇḍavas on their way to Kalinga, arrived at the river Vaitarani where they took their sacred bath.



Their guide, the sage Lomaśa, advised them to climb on a *Vedī*, which had been raised by *Bhūdevī*, at the request of the sage Kaśyapa. Lomaśa asked Yudhiṣṭhira to climb upon the *Vedī* to be blessed and thus to acquire divine prowess.<sup>34</sup> The Pāṇḍavas accordingly climbed on the *Vedī* after they had had a sacred bath in the sea and went to the Mahendra hill to rest during the night. Some scholars interpret that the *Vedī* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* may be identified with Puri or the Nilācala. Unfortunately, we do not have any trace of a hill in the neighbourhood of Puri or on its sea-shore. From the descriptions of the *Mahābhārata*, we have to search for this *Vedī* which must have been on the mountain or near the mountain, close to the sea-shore and was considered as a sacred place. Which other place in Kalinga fits with this description if it is not the Mahendra mountain?

It will not be out of place to point out here that actually there are three dilapidated temples on the Mahendra which bear the names of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Kuntī (Photo 2).<sup>35</sup> According to the local tradition, these temples were constructed by the Pāṇḍavas when they visited this locality. This tradition seems to have been current even as early as the time of Choḍagaṅga (1078-1148), in whose copper-plate inscriptions there is a verse describing that five brothers of the Gaṅga dynasty, Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta, came to the Mahendra region where, like the five Pāṇḍavas, they worshipped the god Gokarṇa-svāmin.<sup>36</sup> As the court poet of Choḍagaṅga (12th century A.D.) metaphorically described the pilgrimage of the first Gaṅga princes of Kalinga as akin to that of the Pāṇḍava brothers, it is quite apparent that this tradition was not unknown to him.

The Śailodbhava kings of Koṅgada regarded the Mahendra mountain as the sacred seat of their progenitor. From the *prastis* of the Gaṅgas of Kalinga and the Śailodbhavas of Koṅgada, whose rule began after the decline of the Mātharas, it appears that the former regarded Gokarṇeśvara as their family god, while the later regarded Svayambhū as the progenitor of their family. This god bearing the names of Gokarṇeśvara and Svayambhū was possibly installed on the top of the Mahendra Mountain.<sup>37</sup>

The kings of Kalinga, including the neighbouring kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala or Mahā Kośala and Veṅgi, namely the Śarabhapuriyans, the Pāṇḍus and the Viṣṇukunḍins respectively, adopted Bhāgavatism as their state religion. This is evident from the epithets recorded in their respective inscriptions.<sup>38</sup> In the inscription of Hastivarman of the early Gaṅga dynasty of the Gaṅga era 79<sup>39</sup>, corresponding to either A.D. 577 or 705, mention is made of his granting a village in the district of Varāha Varttaṇi in Kalinga to the God Viṣṇu who is described



as the *Bhagavate saptārṇavaśāyine-*  
*Saptasāmopagītāya-saptalokaikaikānāthāya-raṇabhītodayā-*  
*bhidhānāya-Nārāyaṇāya.*

In spite of the fact that Hastivarman styled himself as *Paramamahēśvara* and claimed to be a devout worshipper of Gokarṇeśvara (Śiva), he gave charters in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa. This proves that there was no conflict between the *Bhāgavatas* and the *Mahēśvaras* in the 6th or 7th century A.D. or at least before Śaṅkarācārya propagated his Siddhānta of *Advaitavāda*.

Contemporary with the Mātharas in the western regions of Orissa, the Nalas were ruling over a portion of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, comprising the modern Koraput district of Orissa and Bastar and Nāgpur in Madhya Bhārat. In the Poḍāgadh Stone-inscription of Skandavarman, son of Bhavadatta of the Nala family, it is said that he installed a foot-print of the Lord Viṣṇu in a place called Puṣkari. In that grant, the first verse of the *Prastiti* is in the praise of Hari, who is described as one who "was victorious, is victorious and will be victorious" (*Harinā Jitam-Jayati Jeṣṭhatyeṣā guṇastu*).<sup>40</sup> A similar expression is also made in the *Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma* as *Vijayojetā*. In the sixth line of the inscription there is a passage known as '*Puruṣāyapuram*' which may be explained as the home of Puruṣa, who is none but Hari or Viṣṇu.<sup>41</sup>

In the age of the Guptas and that of the Puṣyabhūtiś, we find evidence of the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Veṅgi and Kaliṅga. The Gupta age was characterised by the evolution of Neo-Brahmanism and Vaiṣṇavism in the territories which came within their fold in the south.

In Dakṣiṇakośala there flourished a king in the time of Hastivarman of Kaliṅga whose name was Mahāśiva Tivaradeva. His father, Nannadeva, was a feudatory chief under one Mahāsudevarāja of Śarabhapura. According to the Rājim and Balodā plates, Mahāśiva Tivaradeva used the glorious title of "*Sakala Kośaladhīpati*"<sup>42</sup> and he was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu having the epithet of *Paramavaiṣṇava*. These grants of Tivaradeva of the Pāṇḍu dynasty were issued from Sirpur. Nannadeva's father, Indravala, as is mentioned in an inscription of Sirpur (discovered by Beglar and referred to by Cunningham in 1884),<sup>43</sup> was a son of Udayana, who belonged to the Śabara lineage. This King, Udayana, is said to have been captured and released by a Pallava king named Pallavamalla Nandivarman.<sup>44</sup> If Udayana of the Sirpur inscription is identical with the Śabara king of the same name of the time of the aforesaid king Nandivarman, then we have to presume that another Śabara king named Śabarāditya, who is said to have been defeated by Kāmārṇava, the first Gaṅga king, on the peak of the Mahendra, might have had some relation with Udayana and also with the



Pāṇḍuvarṣī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. Pulindasena, a leader of the *Kaliṅga-Janata*<sup>45</sup> and a devout worshipper of the god Svayaṃbhu, might also be linked with the same Śābara-lineage, whose successor is taken by the court-poets of the Sailodbhava kings as belonging to the Kṣatriya race, Śailodbhava by name.

In the *Rājim Mahātmya*, it is said that the Mahānadi river bore the name of Utpaleśvari; the course of the river below its junction with the Jonk is still known as the Citrotpalā. Richard Jenkins, as stated by Cunningham,<sup>46</sup> discovered this *Mahātmya* in the early decades of the 19th century. It is further known that the temple of Rājivalocana at Rājim is surrounded by a group of temples dedicated to Varāha, Narasiṃha, Badarīnātha, Vāmana and Jagannātha, Rājeśvara and Dāneśvara, the last two being Śiva-temples. We thus conclude that the Pāṇḍuvarṣī kings, from the time of Tivaradeva onwards, used to worship Viṣṇu in his various forms. We have already stated that the Pāṇḍuvarṣī kings were probably of the Śābara lineage whose association with the origin of Jagannātha is gathered from traditional accounts. Cunningham assigns these temples to about the 5th century A.D. on archæological and stylistic considerations. So, our conclusion regarding the original Śābara kings of this locality, as well as of the Mahendra region, where the founders of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga defeated one Śābara king, named Śābarāditya, is well established.

Under the patronage of the rulers of Dakṣiṇa Kośala who embraced Brāhmanism, Buddhists and other sects enjoyed equal privileges with the Brāhmaṇas. The Mallar plates of Mahāśivagupta reveal that fourteen Ārya Bhikṣus lived in a Buddhist Vihāra at a place known as Taradaṃsaka.<sup>47</sup> This Vihāra was formerly established by Alakā, wife of Kiradeva. The Bhikṣus of this monastery were granted a village called Kailāsapura in Taradaṃsaka-Bhoga by Mahāśivagupta who used the title of *Paramamāheśvara*.<sup>48</sup> The inscription further states that these fourteen Ārya-bhikṣus were granted charters on the advice of one Bhāskaravarman, who was a maternal uncle of the king. There was a king named Bhāskaravarman, who lived in the country of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) in the 7th century A.D. For want of evidence we are not able to identify the Bhāskaravarman of this period with the king of the same name who lived in Prāgjyotiṣa. But, regarding the influence of Buddhism of Assam over Dakṣiṇa-Kośala and Kaliṅga we may trace that it was possible only after the migration of the Bhauma-Kara kings to Orissa in the first half of the 8th century A.D.

The Buddhistic sculptures found in different places of Madhyabhārat, including Śābarīnārāyaṇa, have features which indicate the Buddhistic influence on this land before Vaiṣṇavism was established in that region. The name, Śābarīnārāyaṇa, suggests that it was dominated by the Śābaras, an aboriginal tribe



of the area. The place, therefore, seems to have attained religious importance before the advent of the Pāṇḍus and the Śarabhapurians. No epigraphical evidence is available to establish the existence of any king in that locality who embraced Buddhism; but, we are sure from the records of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuentasang, that this part of India was under the influence of the great Buddhist monk, Nāgārjuna, who lived in South Kośala in a Buddhist monastery. He was highly regarded by the Buddhists for his supernatural powers. Hiuentasang says that the king of South Kośala was "a<sup>49</sup> Kṣatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence." This reveals that a Kṣatriya chief of that country who was a follower of the Varṇāśrama-dharma was also a patron of Buddhism. We may, therefore, assume that some powerful Buddhist monks, like Nāgārjuna, tried to popularise their doctrine in this tract, and did even secure followers from the lower ranks of contemporary society. It is no wonder that the Śābaras extended their support to the Buddhist faith.

As has been said before, after the Mātharas of Kaliṅga in the country of Koṅgada, lying to the east of Dakṣiṇa Kośala and contiguous of Kaliṅga, there lived the Śailodbhavas. Their kingdom was situated around the Chilkā Lake. From their inscriptions we know that they used the title of *Paramamāheśvara* and performed the Vedic rituals like *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya*.<sup>50</sup> In the Bānpur Plates of Madhyamarāja there is a verse which throws light on the religious condition of Koṅgada.<sup>51</sup> Madhyamarāja's predecessor, Mādhavarāja, is described, in his Khurdā plates, as a follower of Śaivism while he compared himself with god Cakradhara or Bhagavān Mādhava. This is an important fact for our consideration regarding the religious belief of the kings of Koṅgada; the name of Bhagavān Mādhava has been used as a synonym for Cakradhara (Viṣṇu).<sup>52</sup>

It is necessary to point out that the insignia of the *Cakra* was recognised even from the time of Aśoka when the symbol of Dharmacakra was first introduced. In some Pāli texts, the *Anguttara Nikāya* and *Mahāsudarāṇa Sutta*,<sup>53</sup> we find that an emperor should possess seven precious things, one of which is the *Cakra Ratna*. According to popular tradition in Orissa, the god Nilamādhava is associated with the god Puruṣottama. It indicates the importance of the god Cakradhara-Mādhava referred to in the Khurdā plates.<sup>54</sup>

From the Buguḍā Plates, we know that Pulindasena, who was a leader of the Kaliṅga-Janatā, worshipped the god Svayaṁbhū on the top of the Mahendra where he received a boon that a stalwart youth would come out of a rock after it had been split. He was called Śailodbhava, after whom the family was named.<sup>55</sup> We have already stated that the Śābaras predominated the country of Dakṣiṇa Kośala before the advent of the Pāṇḍuvarṣi kings. Similarly, they (the Śābaras)



dominated Kalinga, centering round the Mahendra Mountain, before the Śailodbhavas came into prominence. Like the religious centre of Dakṣiṇa Kośala at Śabarīnārāyaṇa, the Mahendra region was also considered to be another such centre which originally belonged to the Pulindas or the Śabaras. We have further stated that the importance of the Mahendra was recognised, even in the time of the Māṭharas, who lived there before the Śailodbhavas and the Gaṅgas. From the study of the religious history of this locality we may conclude that the religious conditions in the countries of Dakṣiṇa Kośala and Koṅgada were almost similar being interlinked through the agency of the aboriginal tribes, namely the Śabaras.

From the family history of the Śailodbhavas, we learn that Mādhavarāja, who was a subordinate king under Śaśaṅka in A.D. 620, suddenly attained the status of *Sakalakalingādhipati* at the time of issuing his Khurdā<sup>56</sup> plates. But, after a few years, he and his successors ceased using the glorious title, "the Lord of all Kalinga." It proves that the country of Kalinga was captured by the Gaṅgas, sometime about the first half of the 7th century A.D. Here we can safely assume that the Rāṣṭradevatā, they used to worship on the Mahendra, first in the name of Svayambhū and thereafter as Cakradhara Mādhava, was not overlooked by the Gaṅgas.

Now, if an aboriginal god, possibly made of wood, was installed on the Mahendra mountain and worshipped by the Pulindas or the aboriginal Śabaras<sup>57</sup> under some name in their own language, and if that was taken as the divine lord of the country of Kalinga, it is presumable that the Māṭharas, who were *Bhāgavatas*, devoted to the god Nārāyaṇa, might have worshipped the former according to their faith under the name of Nārāyaṇa or Puruṣottama Nārāyaṇa.

The Buddhists, during the Śailodbhava period, seem to have embraced Śaivism and adopted Liṅga worship when they tried to assimilate the phallus emblem of Śiva as indetical with and inseparable to their Lord Buddha. With this notion they inscribed part of their own sacred verse namely "*To Dharma hetu pravabhā heturjasya Tathāgataḥ*" on a Liṅgaṃ. One such Liṅgaṃ was discovered from the district of Balasore.<sup>58</sup>

Similar Śiva worship by a Buddhist king of Jāvā may be taken as a significant reference while considering the synthesis of Buddhism with Śaivism as well as Vaiṣṇavism. In this connection we refer to an important inscription of Erlangga from Penanggungan (Surabaya of Java of Śaka year 963) where the invocation verses are inscribed as follows :-

*Svasti : Tribhirapi guṇairupeto nṛṇāmvaidhāne-  
sthitān tattatpralaya-Aguṇa iti yaḥ prasiddhastasmaiahā-*

*tre namassatatatam-agaṇi-tavikramaguruṇā Praṇ-  
amyamānassurādhipeṇa Sadā !*

B. R. Chatterjee translates these three verses as follows<sup>59</sup> :—

*Verse I :-* Hail, May honour be always given to the creator (Brahmā) who in his creation and preservation is endowed with all the three qualities (guṇas) but is without any (guṇa) at the time of destruction.

*Verse II :-* Honour be also to him who is well-known in the world as Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) and who is at all times saluted by the Lord of the Devas (i.e. Indra) who is great on account of his immense prowess.

*Verse III :-* Honour to Śiva who (in bounty) surpasses the wish-giving tree, who though called sthāṇu (lit. motionless) moves with great speed and who through his qualities satisfies the desire of the living beings.

In another inscription on the same island found at Kelurak (which was incised in Śaka 704 i.e. 782 A.D.) we find that the Buddhist god Mañjuśrī whose symbolic feature corresponds to the two rounded eyes and the mouth of the present image of Jagannātha has been depicted in that inscription and has been described to be the assimilation of three gods namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara who are responsible for the creation, preservation and destruction of the world. The relevant verse in that inscription runs as follows<sup>60</sup> :

*“Ayaṃ sa vajradhṛk Śrīmān Brahmā Viṣṇummaheśvaraḥ-  
Saraadevamaya svāmi mañjuvāgiti gīyate.”*

Our reference to these epigraphical quotations from Jāvā of the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. proves that a similar conception of religious precepts prevailed among the Buddhists of that island who possibly borrowed ideas from the Mahāyānists of the coastal tracts of Kāliṅga and also from the Brāhminical sects who worshipped the god Viṣṇu attributing him the qualities of *śṛṣṭi*, *sthiti*, *pralaya* i.e. creation, preservation, and destruction, during the reign of Budhagupta in the 5th century A.D. It proves how the original idea of worshipping the *rājśrādevatā* of a kingdom with these supernatural powers of creation, preservation and destruction, had influenced the Buddhists and spread throughout the world of Mahāyānists both in India and in eastern archipelago.



The same deity was perhaps earlier called Nārāyaṇa by the Mātharas, Gokarṇeśvara by the Gaṅgas and Svayāmbhū by the Śailodbhavas. After the Śailodbhavas, the Śaivite kings, the Gaṅgas, probably called the same deity Gokarṇeśvara in the form of a Śiva who, according to them, was responsible for the prosperity of the royal State. Although an unknown primitive god was worshipped by the followers of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva according to their faith, they did not dare change the iconographic features of the deity, which would have wounded the religious sentiment of the aboriginal tribes who formed an important part of the militia of these countries. If any image corresponding to the peculiar image-type of Jagannātha could be found in the Śabara country, we could have unhesitatingly suggested that the former was the prototype of the latter. But, in the absence of any such image, we have to seek for other data to explain the form of the three peculiar images comprising Puruṣottama Jagannātha and his associates, now enshrined in the temple of Puri.

There existed from an unknown time a practice in Orissa that a god or goddess should be installed in each home, in each village and in each town or fort named *grīhadevatā*, *grāmadevatā*, *nagaradevatā* and *durgadevatā* respectively. These gods or goddesses were expected to protect a family, a village, a town or a fort from all calamities. Similarly, in the case of each country there was a *Rāṣṭradevatā* who was to take care of the safety of the country. This peculiar custom influenced not only the high castes, but also the local aboriginal tribes, and this practice is still in vogue among them. There is, however, a clue to determine the existence of a *Rāṣṭradevatā* in Dakṣiṇkośala at Śabarīnārāyaṇa and another in Kalinga at the Mahendra; they were taken to be the family gods of the royal families of these kingdoms. This idea of the *Rāṣṭradevatā*, who was supposed to protect the kingdom where he was worshipped, has come down to us from the Buddhist *Jātakas* of the 5th or 6th century B.C. For, example, in the *Culla Kalinga Jātaka*, it is mentioned that once there was a war between the kings of Kalinga and Aśvaka, and that their *Rāṣṭradevatas* fought each other in the shape of two bulls, black and white.<sup>61</sup>

In between Dakṣiṇa Kośala and Kalinga there was an extensive forest-kingdom known as Mahākāntāra in the time of Samudragupta. That country was under a royal family whose members were described as "*Stambheśvari Pādabhaktā*" or the devout worshippers at the feet of goddess Stambheśvari. The country itself was subsequently known as Gondrama.

A copper-plate inscription discovered in Terāsiṅgā (Kalāhāṇḍi District) discloses that about the 4th or 5th century A.D.<sup>62</sup> there was a local king named Tuṣṭikāra, who was a worshipper of Stambheśvari. This deity is called Bhagavatī



in the copper-plate grant. Since the shape of the goddess Stambheśvarī resembles a wooden pillar, corresponding to the Śabara image installed in every Śabara village, we may infer that originally a goddess, installed in the country of Gondrama inhabited by an aboriginal tribe was subsequently worshipped by king Tuṣṭikāra and after him by the Śulkis and the Bhañjas of Gondrama and Khññjalimaṇḍala respectively. The goddess possessed the Sanskritised name, Stambheśvarī, given by the Brāhmaṇas. While discussing the Hindol plate of Kulastambha, D. C. Sircar says, "Stambheśvarī was the family deity of the Śulkis of Orissa".<sup>63</sup> According to him, the representation of the goddess was probably made out on a Stambha indicating a Śivaliṅga. But, according to S. N. Rājaguru, it is an aboriginal goddess which was subsequently taken by the Brāhmaṇas. In this connection Rājaguru says, "In every village of these hill tribes we find one or two wooden pillars, small in size, and worshipped by villagers on ceremonial occasions". It is, therefore, probable that these pillar deities were named "Stambheśvarī" by the Sanskrit Paṇḍits who were mainly responsible for Aryanising these aboriginal deities. The Tantrayāna, which is called "*Śabarī Vidyā*", is nothing but a transformation of the religion of the Śabaras.<sup>64</sup> This is a glaring example of the blending of dogmatic belief in mysticism with primitive superstition. The human sacrifice which prevailed among these hill-tribes was adopted by the Aryans who assimilated it into their own religion and called it *Narmedha*. All these accounts give some idea as to how the so-called Hindu religion became an admixture of heterogenous cults embodying the precepts of different tribes in different times. In the *Kālikā-Purāṇa* we come across the name of the Śabaras as worshippers of the Goddess Kālī. Pargiter has rightly observed, "The Āryans met with religious practice and belief among the people whom they ruled over or came into lasting contact with and have assimilated among them gradually, thus modifying their own religion to a certain extent".<sup>65</sup>

Like the history of the god Nārāyaṇa or Svayaṁbhū in South Orissa (Kaliṅga) and that of the goddess Stambheśvarī in West Orissa (Gondrama), the history of another contemporary god in the Central and Eastern parts of Orissa (Tosali) may be traced with the help of two copper-plate inscriptions of about the 6th or 7th century A.D.,<sup>66</sup> the Kaṇās plate of Lokavighraha and the Olasing Plate of Bhānu or Bhīnuvardhana.<sup>67</sup> That god is called Mañināgeśvara and was probably installed on the modern Maināka or Mañināga mountain in Raṇapur in Puri District. Not far from Kaṇās and Olsingh where these copper-plates were discovered, there is a mountain called Mañināga in the ex-State (Garjat) of Raṇapur on which there is a temple of Mañināga. Today, the presiding deity is not traceable, and in his place a small image of a goddess is worshipped; but, it is quite significant that the goddess is still worshipped by the Khonds, an aboriginal tribe of Orissa.



The worship of Nāga is said to have originated among the aboriginal tribes, and in the Brahmanical age it was accepted by the Hindus as Baladeva, an incarnation of Śeṣa or Ananta Nāga. The Nāga-cult attained popularity throughout India from very early times, and the deity Baladeva was worshipped not merely as a demi-god but as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. At Remuṇā in Balasore district in North Orissa there is a single image of Baladeva, still worshipped as the incarnation of the Śeṣa or Ananta Nāga. At the mouth of the Suvarṇarekhā in the same part of the district, the temple of Maṇināga still stands. So, it can be inferred that in the country of Tosali the image of Maṇināga was the popular *Rāṣṭradevatā* which in course of time came to be regarded as Baladeva. It is not improbable that after the downfall of the Śailodbhavas, when the countries of Koṅgada and Tosali were ruled by the Bhauma-Karas, the gods Puruṣottama and Balabhadra and the goddess Stambheśvarī might have been worshipped as the *Rāṣṭradevatās* in the newly formed kingdom. This seems to have been one of the main factors in the evolution of the image type of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha which comprised three separate icons of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra.

We should now discuss briefly the religious outlook of the Śābaras. According to a popular Śābara tradition, two brothers, Rāmā and Bhīmā, came<sup>68</sup> to the top of the Mahendra Mountain where they settled and occupied the entire range of mountains extending as far as the Vindhya in Central India. Like many other tribal races, the Śābaras had a peculiar conception about their religion. They worshipped a large number of gods and demigods for the welfare of their country, their profession and their families. In all aspects of life, they believed that some supernatural power was responsible for their good or evil.<sup>69</sup> This idea induced them to absorb all the gods of different cults into their own pantheon. The Śābaras were not only accustomed to accept all gods and goddesses but also to worship them in their own way in crude forms. For example, in Sitābīñji in Keonjhar district (Orissa), they worshipped Sitā in the form of a stone image in a cave, thinking that, that was the place where Lava and Kuśa were born. We may further cite that the Liṅga of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅgam was discovered by the Śābaras, and subsequently taken over by the Brāhmanas in the time of the Gaṅgas.<sup>70</sup>

Originally the Śābaras spread over a wide region. But, when the Brāhmanas migrated to these same regions, they found that these Śābaras worshipped several gods and goddesses whom they called in their language "Kituṅ". The new settlers did not disturb their practice and were not keen to install their own gods lest they should injure aboriginal sentiment. But, on the other hand, they themselves tried to worship the local gods by Sanskritising their names as in the case of the goddess Stambheśvarī and Svayaṁbhū. It is not out of place to mention here that the term "Svayaṁbhū" was not only used by the Brāhmanical priests for



Śiva or Brahmā but also by the Jaina *gurus* for the Tirthaṅkaras.<sup>71</sup> We have already said that the land of the Śabarās extended from the feet of the Mahendra as far as the Vindhya mountains within which Śabarīnārāyaṇa is situated (vide map). In this connection the following observation made by Rev. J. Long during his visit to Orissa in January 1859 may be quoted.

"Antiquarian enquiries in Nepal, Ceylon and China show that the Buddhism so noted in its regard for enlightening the masses and opposing caste, was for ages predominant all through Orissa both among rulers and people, though Orissa be now the garden of the Hinduism and Jagannāth its Jerusalem. Even Jagannāth itself stands on the site of a Buddhist temple and contained the celebrated tooth of Buddha, which was kept there till the 4th century A.D." "When it was carried for a short period to Patna, the ancient Palibothra then the capital of North India, it was soon after brought back to Puri, but on an invasion of the country, it was conveyed in A.D. 311 by a king's daughter concealed in her hair to Ceylone, which was then becoming a place of refuge to the Buddhists from the Brahmin's rage. Prinsep, Lassen and Burnouf have established from the evidence of manuscripts, inscriptions on pillars and rocks etc. that Buddhism was the State religion of India from the days of Aśoka from the 3rd century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. while the Chinese traveller Fa-Hien & Hiuen-Tsang give us information of its prevalence up to the 7th century A.D."

Long has rightly observed that "there are various points besides this, in connection with Jagannātha, which seem to indicate that it was an eclectic system selecting from different sects and incorporating all; thus, though Jagannātha gives much ascendancy to the Vaiṣṇavas, yet the Paṇḍās at Jagannāth all belong to the Śākta sect of the Śaivites; they do not, however, practise those horrible obscene rites observed by the same sect of Sāntipur."<sup>72</sup>

The theory applied in the case of Svayaṁbhū of the Mahendra is also applicable to certain images of Central India at Sirpur which have the same iconographic features. Cunningham's view may be quoted here in connection with the image of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa. He attempts to attribute to it the features of Buddha: "The figure inside is said to be of black stone about 3 feet high, it represents a two armed and two-legged seated human figure. The legs crossed, one hand resting on the thigh, the other below the chest held horizontally. The statue is said to be precisely that At Rājim known as Rājivalocana's, and like it is clearly Buddhist resembling the great statue of Buddha at Rajjhana and about the same also in height; they are, however, full statues and not altorelievos. At the extremity of the Colonnade built in front of the temple, is a statue said to be of Garuḍa. I could not see this or examine it, there is also a statue of Hanumān. To the



right of the entrance of the temple is a loose pilaster with a sculptured figure similar to the pilasters described at Siripur; this female figure is now known as the statue of Śavarī. The legend is that here Śabarī worshipped Rāma, and as a boon asked that her name should precede his; hence the name of the place Śabarīnārāyaṇa (shortened to Śeorīnārāyaṇa) which was also later named as Śavarīpur.<sup>73</sup> "This place is within a distance of about 3 miles from the confluence of the River Jonk and the Mahānadi. This is the religious seat of the Pāṇḍus which is popularly known as Śabarīnārāyaṇa. According to a traditional account, it is the place where Rāmachandra on his way to south met Śabarī who worshipped him with ripe mangoes. So, the image of Nārāyaṇa being associated with the name, Śabarī, has been worshipped there. It is situated on the left bank of the Mahānadi below its junction with the Jonk river; it was a very important place of pilgrimage. According to Cunningham, it is "a well known place of pilgrimage and being on the route to Puri from Central India, always contains a number of pilgrims en route."<sup>74</sup> Sārālā Dās, a famous poet of Orissa of the early 14th century, suggests that Jagannātha was brought to Puri from Śavarī nārāyaṇa.<sup>74a</sup>

The age to which the sculptures and monuments of this locality belong is an important period in the integration of different religions, viz., Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

We need not imagine that the place assumed importance suddenly in the time of the Pāṇḍuvarṣī kings of Kośala. We have to trace the sanctity of the locality to a more remote antiquity with the help of some relics of Buddha and Jaina images found there. Although we have no evidence of the existence of any Jain or Buddhist king in that locality, we know that some Buddhist monks like Nāgārjuna lived in that area.

Actually, remnants of these religions are traceable in the vicinity of Śavarīpur or Sirpur, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍuvarṣī kings, who were called *Sakalakōśalādhipati*. Immediately after Mahāśiva Tivaradeva, his successor Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna praised his family god Narasiṃha, who is taken by the praśasti-writer as Puruṣottama, for he starts with the maṅgalācaraṇa "*Om Namo Puruṣottamāya*."<sup>75</sup>

When we turn to Buddhist literature, we find that some aboriginal gods and goddesses were taken by the Mahāyānist into their own pantheon. According to Tārānātha, Mahāśiddha Śavarī was an important monk who converted the minister and the king of Orissa and one Maitra or Maitragupta who afterwards lived in Nālandā.<sup>76</sup> The goddess Parvā-Śabarī is highly regarded in the Mahāyāna School.<sup>77</sup> It is clearly evident that the Śabarās of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Kāliṅga and Kōṇḍā



were closely associated not only with the Brāhmaṇas but also with the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

The Śābaras also took into their pantheon some Brāhmanical gods and goddesses along with the Lord Jagannātha. They worshipped their god under the name of Kitung who are ten in number and are regarded as brothers. Their names are Bhīmā, Rāmā, Hodepulu, Peda, Rungjung, Tumernna, Garsada, Jaganta, Mutta and Teata.<sup>78</sup> The Śābara tribe as a whole, according to the present tradition, has been classified into seven sections out of which one is known as Jārā Śābara. This class of Śābaras mostly live in the confluence of the Indrāvati and Śābarī in the Western part of Orissa. A family of the Jārā Śābara tribe is known as Rāju or the king of the tribe. Their family deity is Nilamādhava whom they worship in their own primitive and crude way. A place called Dārkoṇḍā situated on the borders of the modern Andhra and Madhyabhārat is their religious centre where the said Nilamādhava is installed. To reach Dārkoṇḍā one has to proceed from Narsanpattam Road railway station by bus to Chintapalli, and from there to Sarapapalam village and then to Krishnadevapetta which is about two miles from Dārkoṇḍā. The name Dārkoṇḍā we presume, is a synonym of Dvārakanda or the hill which was formerly the gateway between Kaliṅga and Dakṣiṇakośala.

The deity of Nilamādhava is four armed having all the four attributes of Viṣṇu. Further the Rājus used to go to Nilamādhava of Kaṇṭillo (Orissa) as their centre of religion which they consider to be the holy land of their family. There are a number of Mādhava images found in different parts of Orissa known as Niāli Mādhava, Lalita Mādhava, Gaṅgā Mādhava, Śābarī Mādhava and Mudgala Mādhava, etc. It appears that there are fourteen Mādhava *pīṭhas* in Orissa. The reason is, that Nilamādhava is the previous form of the present Jagannātha, worshipped in Nilācala. The ancient name of Jagannātha which is still in vogue in Śābara villages in Orissa is "Jaganaelo" made of wood. The name of the deity in the Śābara languages is *Sonam* and the images have the name of Kituṅg. Of all Kituṅgs, Jaganaelo is the greatest and he is called the Lord of all the Lords and the Lord of the universe, according to Śābaras.

Buddhist influence on the Śābaras was not only confined to the southern and western portions of Orissa, but also present in the north-east. About the 5th or 6th century A.D., the present districts of Balasore and Keonjhar happened to be the seats of the Mahāyānists who used to worship their gods and goddesses in association with the Śābaras. For example, in Sitābīnji (Keonjhara District) there are some monuments of that period where the Śābaras act as the main priests. In course of time, the Brāhmaṇas associated with them, and the former installed some Śaivite images such as those of Mukhaliṅga, Gaṇeśa, and Kārtikeya. In



the district of Balasore, where the Suvarṇarekhā falls into the sea, there existed some Buddhist Vihāras, and a large number of the Mahāyānists, belonged to the Ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha. This fact came to light from a recently discovered copper-plate inscription of the time of Mahārāja Gopacandra at Balasore, who gave his consent to one Acyuta, a subordinate king of his, to donate some lands in favour of the Ārya Saṅgha for establishing a Vihāra and for worshipping the god Avalokiteśvara.<sup>79</sup>

There was a mutual understanding between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhist Śramaṇas. Most probably, that understanding continued in this country from the time of Aśoka. But, towards the beginning of the first half of the 7th century a political and religious contest ensued between two groups of rulers headed by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, who was a Buddhist on one side, and Śaśāṅka of Karpasuvārṇa who was a Hindu on the other. That is the time when Hiuen-Tsang visited this land and when Harṣa extended his support to the University of Nālandā, a popular seat of learning.<sup>80</sup> His rival Śaśāṅka attempted to spread the Brāhmanical religion in eastern and north-eastern India so that, according to a Buddhist literary work, the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,<sup>81</sup> Śaśāṅka was condemned as a notorious iconoclast while, in the *Ekāmrapurāṇa* and the *Kapila Saṁhita* of the Brāhmaṇas he was praised for his great achievement relating to the establishment of Śaivism in Ekāmra-Kṣetra.<sup>82</sup>

Towards the end of the middle age the rivalry between the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas took definite shape. We presume that their differences started long before Śaśāṅka when the Guptas brought Orissa under their control. The Bhāskaresvara temple at Bhubaneśwar had a Buddhist lion-capital which was discovered in the precincts of that temple and which is now an exhibit in the Orissa State Museum; it bears some inscriptions of the 5th century A.D. It clearly indicates that in the later part of the Gupta age, an attempt was made to destroy some Buddhist monasteries and to replace them by Śaiva temples.<sup>83</sup> The result was that many Buddhist images were set up in the Hindu temples; this can still be noticed in different places of Orissa. Students of iconography, however, cannot positively identify and fix the exact period of these hybrid images.

The Midnapore Plates of Somadatta and Śubhakīrti reveal the religious outlook of the people of this country at the time of Śaśāṅka. The relevant passage from the said inscriptions is quoted below.<sup>84</sup>

"Viṣṇoḥ Potāgrabikṣepa Kṣaṇabhāvita Sādhyasām

Seṣā seṣa śiromadhya madhyāśīnamahātānu

Kāmāratiśro bhraṣṭa Gangaghaghadhvasta Kalmaṣām

Śrī Śaśāṅke Mahāpāte catur jaladhimekhalām."



Dr. R. C. Majumdar translates this verse as follows :—

“While the illustrious Śaśāṅka is protecting the earth ; whose girdle is formed by the four oceans, whose sins are washed by the Ganges fallen from the head of the enemy of the Cupid, i.e. Śiva, whose great body is placed in the infinite floods of the Śeṣa and who was agitated when Viṣṇu (in the form of a boar) cast his snout (to raise her)”...

A few years after the death of Śaśāṅka the Chinese traveller, Hiuen-Tsang, visited the land of Koṅgada—the present-day Puri and Ganjam districts—where he noticed one hundred Deva temples and about ten thousand Tīrthikas.<sup>65</sup> It reminds us of the *yogis* and *munis* (sages) in the forest tracts of Koṅgada who, by undergoing many physical hardships, which are described in the Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty, attempted to attain salvation. Here, the court poet makes a comparison between the practice of austerities by these *siddhas* and *yogis* of the forest-area and the performance of *yajña* by a king like Madhyamarāja in his abode. According to him, the latter is an easier process of attaining salvation. It shows that the court-poet indirectly condemns the *yogis* and *siddhas* in the Banpur plates and supports the action of Madhyamarāja. Therefore, our conclusion should be that the Brāhmaṇas of that age tried to ignore the yogic practices of the Buddhist monks and Jaina *Sādhakas*.<sup>66</sup>

Towards the close of the 7th century A.D., Koṅgada was ruled by Dharmarāja, whose queen Kalyāṇadevī donated lands to a *Guru* named Ekajaṭā Prabuddhacandra, a disciple of Darhadācārya Nāsicandra. From these names we presume that Kalyāṇadevī was either a Jaina or a Buddhist. It is not out of place to point out here that a large number of Buddhist images, made of different metals, have recently been excavated from the banks of the river Sālīā (Sālimā) at Banpur (Puri district). These are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneśwar. These images belong to the School of the Tāntric Buddhist of the Vajrayāna sect. It is interesting to note that Banpur is an important seat of Tāntrism for the goddess Bhagavatī, who is supposed to have been worshipped by the Brāhmaṇas when the assimilation of the Buddhist Vajrayāna or Tantrāyana with the Brahmanical Tantrism took place.

The metal images of the Banpur hoard belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. This was the time when the kingdom of Koṅgada was conquered by the Bhauma-kara kings who embraced Buddhism. It is quite probable that the difference between the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas which appeared in the time of the Śailodbhavas disappeared after the Bhaumas came into prominence. There was an attempt to create harmony in the religious sphere of this country by assimilating the pantheon of the Buddhist Tantrism into that of the Brāhmanical Śāktism.



We cannot definitely establish the historical importance of Puri on archaeological and epigraphical grounds before the 7th century A.D. The temple architecture, as well as some of the celebrated monuments of the locality, cannot be deemed anterior to that period. It is strange that although there are references to Puruṣottama in the earlier Purāṇas, we have so far not been able to find any epigraphical record pertaining to Puruṣottama before the 7th century A.D. There is no mention of even the name of Nilācala or Nilagiri in the inscriptions prior to the 7th century A.D.

A reference can justifiably be made here to a commonly prevalent notion that the temple of Jagannātha is on a mountain and therefore it is called Nilādri, Nilācala or Nilagiri. But, neither is the temple situated on a mountain, nor is there any mountain in the vicinity of Puri. The temple is really situated on a sand hill and is called Nilagiri (Blue Mountain) only on grounds of analogy. The Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneśwara is called Svarṇādri or Svarṇagiri though this temple too is not on a mountain. Most probably, it is called so because Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, has several names as Hemakūṭa, Svarṇakūṭa or Svarṇagiri etc. and one of the names has been chosen for the Liṅgarāja temple. So, it may be presumed that the name Nilagiri was adopted for the Jagannātha temple because the name Svarṇādri was used for the Liṅgaraj temple. It is also probable that because of the lofty structure of the temple of Jagannātha it came to be metaphorically compared with a hill or *giri*, from which it assumed the name "Nilagiri". And, as the local tradition goes, a sand-hill did actually exist.

The Bhaumas adopted Buddhism and established their capital in Virāṅjā-nagara or the present Jajpur in the Cuttack District. They had no malice against other religions in their kingdom. Not far from their capital there is a family god of their own called Guheśvara who was installed in a town named Guheśvara-pāṭaka. The temple of Virajā in Jajpur or Virāṅjā-Nagara was quite popular in their reign when the Tāntric cult was prevalent. We come across the names of Puruṣottama and Balabhadra for the first time in the copper-plate inscriptions of Śubhākaradeva I of this dynasty. This aspect of the topic will be discussed in the next chapter. It is quite probable that the god Nilamādhava *alias* Puruṣottama, was popularly worshipped by the Buddhist Bhauma-karas, and it is they who marked the insignia of the Lord Buddha in that image, adopting some rites and festivals borrowed from Buddhist ritualism. For example, the Car Festival which is an important and significant feature relating to the Lord Puruṣottama might have partly originated from Buddhist influence.

Now, the question is whether the name Puruṣottama was adopted in the kingdom of Bhaumas sometime during or after the 8th century A.D., or was the



name already in use in Kaliṅga in the early Gaṅga regime. In this connection we may refer to a copper-plate inscription of Devendravarman of the Gaṅga era 308 where we get the name of a village granted by him on the top of the Mahendra mountain as Purujavana or *Puruṣavana*.<sup>87</sup> The name *Puruṣottama* as a village existed during the Gaṅga rule. B. Ch. Chhabra who edited the grant has not discussed the topography of Purujavana or the forest (*vana*) where Puruṣa or the Lord (Viṣṇu) was installed. It is not improbable that the name Purujavana or *Puruṣavana* of the inscription was changed later into *Purusathama* or *Puruṣottama*. The god Nilamādhava *aliās* *Puruṣottama*, was adored not only by Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists but also by Jains who accepted him as a Tirthaṅkara in their Pantheon which is referred to in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* by Hemachandra.<sup>88</sup>

The Bhaumas ruled the country for about two hundred years beginning from the first half of the 8th century until the dynasty became extinct and the Somavaiṣṇī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala succeeded them. These Bhaumas, who used the titles *Paramasaugata* and *Paramatathāgata* later styled themselves as *Paramamāheśvara* and *Paramavaiṣṇava*. It is a clear indication that they changed their religion within a century of their rule, i.e. in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. Before this, the popularity of *Puruṣottama* and *Baladeva* is known from epigraphical sources, namely the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara I, where these names occur.

It will now be necessary to refer to the political and religious development that took place during the Bhauma-kara supremacy in Orissa. These kings are supposed to have migrated from Assam where a branch of their dynasty existed from earlier times. In Orissa they introduced their *Samvat*; it has been proved on the basis of astronomical calculations that this *Samvat* was started from A.D. 736.<sup>89</sup> So, there is little doubt that some time close to that date, the Śailodbhavas of Koṅgada disappeared from the History of Orissa, and their kingdom was merged in Dakṣiṇa Toṣālī. The Śailodbhavas had experienced trouble not only from the west or from the country of Dakṣiṇa Kośala from the time of Tivaradeva, but also from the Gaṅgas in the south as well as from the Bhaumas in the north.

After Tribhuvana Mahādevī, the mother of Śubhākara II, two other queens lived in this family, Dharmā and Daṇḍī. They ruled the country up to the Bhauma *samvat* 180 (A.D. 916) after which the family became extinct.<sup>90</sup> These last two queens are described as *Paramavaiṣṇavī*. According to the Hindola Plate of Śubhākara of the Bhauma-kara family, the donor Śubhākara, the son of Śantikara and grandson of *Paramasaugata* Śubhākara I, granted a village named Naddile in Utara Toṣālī at the request of one Pulindarāja for the worship of the god Vaidyanātha.<sup>91</sup> It proves that in the 9th century A.D. the Pulindas of Toṣālī used to worship Brahmanical deities like the Vaidyanātha with the permission of a



Buddhist king. While the Bhauma-karas and the Gaṅgas were powerful in Toṣali and Kaliṅga respectively, there lived the Somavaṁśi kings in Dakṣiṇa Kośala, the capital of which was at Suvarṇapura or the modern Sonepur in Balangir district of Orissa.<sup>92</sup> These kings extended their kingdom from the district of Sambalpur in the north-east as far as Kalahandi and Koraput in the south. Within this tract, several subordinate chiefs ruled under them. Popular tradition in Orissa goes that one Yayātikeśarī revived Brāhmanism in Orissa by inviting Brāhmaṇas from Northern India and by performing *yajñas* on the bank of the Vaitaraṇī at Virajā-kṣetra. This traditional account is corroborated by epigraphical records where we get information regarding the migration of the Brāhmaṇas from places like Srāvasti,<sup>93</sup> Hastipada,<sup>94</sup> and Takkari<sup>95</sup>. Due to the migration of the Brāhmaṇas, Śabari-Nārāyaṇa, the composite family deity of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi kings of Mahākośala, came to be known as Puruṣottama-Nṛsiṃha in the Somavaṁśi period.

The worship of the god Cakradhara Mādhava, mentioned earlier in this chapter, started in Koṅgada at least before the 7th century A.D., when a Śailodbhava king, named Mādhavavarman, compared himself with the Bhagavān Cakradhara. Presumably, while transferring their capital of Dakṣiṇa Kośala from Sirpur to Suvarṇapur near Bauda, the Somavaṁśi kings should have sought for a place with physical features similar to those of their previous capital. It is interesting to note that archæologically and stylistically the temple of Nilamādhava at Gandharāḍi near Baud was constructed long before the present Jagannātha temple at Puri. Therefore, we may infer that the incorporation of the deities of some aboriginal tribes in Orissa was accomplished from two different directions: (1) the Mahendra region of Kaliṅga and (2) Śabarīnārāyaṇa of Dakṣiṇa Kośala.

The Mahānadi or Chitrotpalā flowed through the regions of the early Pāṇḍu-vaṁśi kings of Sirpur in Dakṣiṇa Kośala with its group of temples at Rājim and Śabarīnārāyaṇa, and through the newly developed Suvarṇapura of the Somavaṁśi kings while it also drained in the districts of Puri and Cuttack. It may be suggested that civilisation progressed through the course of this river to the coastal regions of Orissa from the far-away hinterland of Madhya Bhārata. We get a number of temples dedicated to Viṣṇu under the name of Mādhava on the lower course of this river. The temples at Gandharāḍi and Koṅṭilo are two examples for our consideration of the Mādhava cult, which later spread to the coastal district of Puri under the names of Lalita Mādhava, Niāli Mādhava, Nipāṇiā Mādhava etc. We learn from an inscription in the temple of Śobha-neśvara at Niālimādhava that there lived a Nāgavaṁśi king named Vaidyanātha.<sup>96</sup> He built the temple in a place called Bhujaṅgamapuri. It is possible that a branch of the Nāgavaṁśi kings of Cakrakoṭa of Central India might have come



to the coastal tracts of Orissa along with the Somavainśi kings who captured the country after the decline of the Bhauma-kara kings. The god Nilamādhava, which, according to tradition, was worshipped by the Śabara chief Viśvāvasu, was ultimately transformed into Puruṣottama Jagannātha. The following extract from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled "Jārāsabar Vaiṣṇa Biharaṇi" "(Dynastic Account of the Jārāsabaras), recently secured by Sri S. N. Rajguru from the Village-Dimirijholā in Parlakhemundi Taluk, proves that originally the deity was worshipped by Śabaras on the Mahendra Mountain.

"Long ago, there lived on the Mahendra Mountain twelve families of the Śabara tribe who built for them twelve houses. They were known as the *Bāra-Ghariās* (twelve settlers). They used to worship and protect their supreme Lord *Nilamādhava* which was installed in the form of a divine log ( *Dārubrahma* ) and was worshipped by Satrusala Śabara who lived in a Śabara village on the summit of the Mahendra Mountain.

Once upon a time, a king named Indradyumna of the Maga Clan wanted to remove the Lord Nilamādhava from the Śavara village. For fulfilment of this object, he captured the Śavara-Satrusala whom he confined but soon liberated when he heard a divine voice to set him free. The same voice advised him to construct a lofty temple at Nilakandara(Puri). Accordingly, the temple was built ; but where was the deity ( image ) ? The king, then employed a Brāhmaṇa named Vidyāpati, in search of the deity, Nilamādhava. The Brāhmaṇa started for the Śavara village on the *Mahendragiri* ( Mahendra Mountain ) where he met a handsome Śavara girl named Lalitā and fell in love with her and at last married her.

Being a spy, employed by the King Indradyumna, Vidyāpati was all the time searching for the deity whom he could spot-out in the dense forest of the locality and sent the news immediately to the king where upon some young men of the Śavara tribe were appointed to bring the sacred log( *Dārubrahma* ) for building the images of the supreme lord.

According to the wishes of the king, the sacred log was removed from its original place and brought to a port called Bāṅkimuhāṇa near puri. From there with great pomp and celebrity the log was taken to the temple where three images were built as they are seen up to the present day. It is believed that the God himself had appeared before the king in the guise of an old carpenter who undertook the task of building the deities on condition that the doors of the temple should be kept closed until completion of his work. But, that condition was not duly honoured by the king. So, the images remained half finished." This assimilation of Nilamādhava with Puruṣottama-Jagannātha appears to have been a remarkable feature of



Orissan Vaiṣṇavism. That the iconographic complex of Jagannātha constituted of various elements taken from Brāhmanism, Buddhism and non-Aryan cults has been demonstrated in the previous sections of this chapter.

There is every probability that the god Nārāyaṇa was installed on the Mahendra Mountain where he was worshipped by the Mātharas for a long time. There might have been also, prior to this period, some unknown god worshipped by the Śabaras on the same mountain. Now, when the Mātharas came, they over-powered the Śabaras, and it is not unlikely that they, on the acquisition of the deity worshipped by the Śabaras, Aryanised the same and began to worship it at the same place. Next came the Gaṅgas and the deity was similarly worshipped by them in the name of Gokaṛṇeśvara because of their faith in Śaivism. The same deity began to be worshipped as Svayambhū by the Śailodbhavas. Now, the Śailodbhavas were the worshippers of both Śiva and Viṣṇu which is evident from their records. This is also corroborated by the fact that they were worshipping Cakradhara Mādhava or Bhagavān Mādhava as mentioned in their grants in Koṅgada area in which Puruṣottama Kṣetra is situated. Their love and respect towards the god Mādhava is very often recorded in their charters, as they seem to compare themselves with Bhagavān Cakradhara although they are Śaivas. This shows that they were certainly patronising the god. We also have another god Maṇināga *alias* Balabhadra in the 6th century and a goddess namely Stambheśvari in the 4th century A.D. in Toṣali and Gondrama areas respectively. There is no evidence at our disposal to suggest anything definitely regarding the removal of Nārāyaṇa Mādhava of the Mahendragiri and Koṅgada Maṇḍala to Puri. But, the god came to be closely associated with the place, and many other places in Koṅgada Maṇḍala came to have shrines with the deities bearing the same names. It is probable that during the time of the Śailodbhavas the deity was removed to Kṛṣṇagiri and subsequently to Nilagiri. There is another god called *Nandagirinātha* worshipped by the *Svetaka Gaṅgas*. It is likely that the conception of Nandagirinātha or Kṛṣṇagirinātha later on gave rise to Nilagirināth-Jagannātha.

In this way various primitive gods came to be absorbed in the Brāhmanical Religion. The resultant composite god was Puruṣottama, and his cult assimilated diverse features belonging to different sects. This is the reason why we find even today the remnants of different ritual performances associated with a single religious system in this land.<sup>97</sup> Wilkins rightly doubts whether Jagannātha had originally any connection with Lord Viṣṇu. He admits the possibility of Jagannātha being a local deity of some unknown tribe whose worship was engrafted into Hinduism and the new god, when admitted into the pantheon, was regarded as another manifestation. But, his view that it was Buddhism which played a most important part



in the developing concept of the god and the form of its icon, requires some modification.

As we have already said, it is the heterogeneous ritualistic practice in this temple that leads us to divergent theories in respect of its origin. But, so far as the religious development is concerned, we have already considered the historical data from age to age to find out how the religious attitude and faith of the people as well as of the rulers operated in evolving the cult of Jagannātha. The cult, which is not derived from any particular religious system, is a combination of many religious thoughts and ideas current in this and the adjoining regions.

#### REFERENCES

1. *Mahābhārata*, III 114, 3-5 and 12 ślokas.
2. *C.I.I.* Vol. I, Introduction, p. XXXVIII.
3. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 151-152.
4. Soro Plate of Somadatta. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 202 text.
5. For the story of Tapasu and Bhallika, see Olden Berg's *Vinaya Piṭaka* I. 3 and *Aṅguttaranikāya* Part I, Ch. X, p. 36.
6. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 223.
7. *Select Inscriptions* by Dr. D. C. Sircar, pp. 35-36.
8. See Line 17 of the Inscriptions of Khārave'a. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. III, December, 1917, p. 146.
9. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 7.
10. *C.I.I.* Vol. III, pp. 203 & 206.
11. *E.I.* Vol. VI, p. 144.
12. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 86.
13. *C.I.I.* Vol. III, pp. 89-90.
14. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 244.
15. *C.I.I.* Vol. III, p. 7.
16. *The Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Rajatajayanti grantha*, Hindi Edition Article by S. N. Rājaguru, p. 77.
17. Sri S. N. Rājaguru while editing the Gandivedha coins of Śrī Nanda, says that these coins belonged to the Māṭhara family of Kaliṅga as the box-head character is found on them. According to him, the Māṭhara rule extended upto the district of Balasore (Orissa) where these coins were discovered.  
*Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, part II, p. 71.
18. In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Prākṛit Inscriptions of Śāntamūla I of the last part of the 3rd century A.D., mention is made that his grand-father performed sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma and Vājapeya. The kings of this dynasty were styled as Māṭhariputras as they established matrimonial relationship with the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga (D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 229).
19. *E.I.* Vol. XXX, pp. 112-113.
20. *E.I.* Vol. XXVII, p. 36.
21. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, p. 97. Article—South India and Ceylon.
22. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, pp. 97-98.

23. Ceylon Lectures ; Lecture No. II, 1945.
24. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, Nos. 1-4, pp. 97-98.
25. *Silap. Preface I*, Vol. XXIII, p. 47 and *Preface II*, pp. 133-140. *Mani. Vol.*, XXVI, II, pp. 15-17.
26. *O.H.R.*, Vol. V, Nos. 3 & 4 and Bilhari Stone Inscription, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 52.
27. The Ningondi Plates, *E.I.* Vol. XXX, pp. 117-118.
28. The Chicacole Plates, *I.A.* Vol. XIII, 1884, p. 49 and Bobili Plates, *E.I.* XXVII, pp. 33-36.
29. *E.I.* Vol. XXVI, p. 134.
30. Indian History Congress, Proceedings—21st session, 1958, p. 113.
31. Plate No. 2.
32. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 370.
33. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 213.
34. *The Mahābhārata* III, 114, 17-24 ślokaś.
35. Plate II, Kunti Deval on the Mahendra mountains.
36. *I.A.* Vol. XVIII, p. 165. Korni Plates of Ananta Varman Choḍagaṅga.
37. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, Appendix I and *I.H.Q.* Vol. XXXVI, 1960, pp. 261-264.
38. Raipur Copper Plate Inscription of Mahāsudevarāj, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 295 and Rajim Plates of Tivaraḍeva, *Ibid.*, p. 291.
39. According to Mirashi the Gaṅga-era started from A.D. 498 (*E.I.* Vol. XXVII), p. 192, and according to S. N. Rājaguru it started in A.D. 626, *Ins. Or.* Vol. II, Appendix No. I.
40. *E.I.* Vol. XXI, p. 155 and *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 95.
41. *E.I.* Vol. XXI, p. 156.
42. Baloda Plates, *E.I.*, Vol. VII, p. 102 and for Rajim Plates, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III.
43. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 25-25.
44. *I.A.* Vol. VIII, pp. 278-82.

“Āsit Udayaṇonāma nṛpate Śabarānvaṃyā Abhūḍva  
labhidātulyastatmāḍindrabalo bali tataḥ Śrī  
Nānnadevo bhudabhimāna mahodayaḥ.”

Sirpur Inscription, No. I, Plate No. XVIII, *A.S.I.* Vol. XVII.

45. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 167.
  46. *A.S.R.* 1881-82, Vol. XVIII, pp. 8-9.
  47. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 115.
- “Taradamaśaka Pratiṣṭhita Kiraḍevabhāryālakā kārīta  
vihārīkānāvāsīcaturdaśāryabhikṣu-sahāya.”
48. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 113.
  49. Watters on *Hsien-tsang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 200.
  50. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 215 and Chanderavar Plate of Dharmarāja, *J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. II, pp. 59-72.
  51. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 193, Lines 31-37.

“Kecidvanyamṛgeṇa sārḍhamacaran  
stāmstāpsthītīrīlayā  
Kecid dagdhamukhā sahasra kiraṇa  
Jvālāvalī prekhṣiṇaḥ  
Kecid valkalīna stathājinavarāḥ  
Kecid jaṭādhārīṇaḥ



Nānārūpadharāstapantimunayo  
divyāspadākāṁkṣiṇaḥ

Citraṁ Madhyamarājadevaguṇadhṛk  
rāīyepi tatprāptavān."

52. Khurda Plates of Madhyamarāja. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 167-68 and *J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXIII, 1904, pp. 282-286 and *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 163, Lines 13-14.

"Natasakala Kaliṅgādhipatyah  
Sakala kalāvāpta kimūrta jagatāpramadaḥ  
Prāvṛtta cakrasakradharao  
Bhagavān Mādhava Śrī Mādhavarājaḥ kuśali."

53. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, Nos. 1-4, p. 181.  
54. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 167. Buguda Plates of Madhava Varma, No. 34.  
55. The aboriginal tribe of the Pulindas is mentioned in the early Brāhminical literature like *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. They had a country of their own called Pulindarāj-rāṣṭra as referred to in a grant of Mahārāj Hastin of the Gupta era 198 or A.D. 518. *E.I.* Vol. XXI, pp. 124-26.  
56. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXXIII, 1904, Part I, p. 282.  
57. Generally we find the wooden images are worshipped by the aboriginals—Śabaras.  
58. *O.H.R.J.* Vol. I, pp. 271-73.  
59. *India & Java*, pp. 65-66 and 71. Bijon Ray Chatterjee's *India and Java*.  
60. *India and Java*, pp. 60-61.  
61. *The Jatakas* by E. B. Cowell, Vol. III, No. 301, p. 4.  
62. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, New Series, pp. 43-47.  
63. *E.I.* Vol. XXVIII, Pt. III, pp. 107-112.  
64. *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 251-252.  
65. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 3.  
66. *J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. III, pp. 261-266 and *E.I.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 331.  
67. *O.H.R.J.* Vol. II, pp. 31-46 and *E.I.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 331.  
68. *J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. III, p. 110.  
69. *Castes and Tribes of Central India* by Russel, Vol. II, pp. 335-336 and Vol. IV, pp. 502-505.  
70. *Indo-Aryan Culture*, Vol. II, 1953-54, p. 122.  
71. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, p. 9, Śloka 24-25 (Devakāṇḍa). The name Svayambhū is mentioned among the other Tirthaṅkaras.  
72. *J.A.S.B.* 1859, No. III, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 185-187, notes and queries suggested by a visit to Orissa in January 1859 by Rev. J. Long.  
73. *A.S.I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 196-198.  
74. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 196.  
75. *E.I.* Vol. XI, p. 190.  
76. *Mystic Tales of Tārānāth*, pp. 11-12.  
77. In the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zan* he is described as having belonged to hill tribe called Śabaras or Huntsmen in Bengali where he met Nāgārjuna during the latter's stay in that country, *Sādhana-mālā*—Introduction, p. XLVI.  
78. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, p. 335.  
79. The copper-plate Inscription has been edited by S. N. Rājguru, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. V, p. 53.

80. *O.H.R.Ŷ.*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 38-39. See *Gupta Rule in Orissa*.
81. *Moñjuśrimūlakalpa* quoted by Jayswal in his "Imperial History of India", p. 53.
82. *The Ekrāmapurāṇa*, Oriya Edition by late Pandit Ratnākar Gargavatu and Kapila Saṁhitā, Ch. XIV, p. 78.
83. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi's *Archaeological remains at Bhubaneswara*, p. 186.
84. *Ŷ.A.S.B.*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 7-8 and *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 142-143.
85. Watters—(Ywan Chwang) *Hien-tsang Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 196.
86. Banpur Plates of Dharmarāj, *E.I.* Vol. XXIX, p. 43.
87. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 73 and *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II.
88. *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, p. 9, Śloka 25, Devakāṇḍa.
89. *O.H.R.Ŷ.*, Vol. IV, p. 69, and *Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and Somavahśis of Orissa*, pp. 8-9.
90. *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 79.
91. *Ŷ.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 81-82.
92. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 45-55.  
See also *Mādalāpāñji* & *Pyārin ohan Acharya's History of Orissa in Oriya*, Ch. II, p. 24.
93. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XX, p. 245.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
95. *E.I.* Vol. III, p. 348.
96. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 338. The author of this inscription may be identified with the author of the temple inscription of Anantavāsudeva of Bhubaneswar who lived in the time of Narasiṅha I of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty.
97. W. J. Wilkins—*Hindu Mythology Vedic & Paurāṇic*, pp. 254-55.



## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORY OF JAGANNATHA

(From the 7th century A.D. upto the present time)

The Bhaumas ruled the country of Toṣalī from the 1st half of the 8th to the 1st half of the 10th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Their capital was situated at Guheśvara Pāṭaka, which is identified with a place not far from the modern Jajpur or the Virajā Kṣetra. The Bhaumas, towards the close of their rule, adopted Vaiṣṇavism as their state-religion. They were succeeded by the Somavaṁśī kings who came from Dakṣiṇa Kośala during the time of Mahāśivagupta Yajāti II.<sup>2</sup> He was so noble and powerful that in his Sonepur grant he was highly praised by his court-poet<sup>3</sup> thus: *Karnāṭa-Lāṭa Gurjareśvara-dāhajvara, Kāñci-kalāpābharāṇa-lampāṭaḥ, Kalinga-Koṅgadoṭkala-Kośala-svayamvaraḥ, Prasiḍḍha-Gauḍa-Rāḍhāmvara-prakarṣaṇotghāta-māruta Sitāṁśu-vaṁśa-vimalāmbara-pūrṇacandraḥ, Svabhujoparjita-Trikalingādhipati-parama māheśvara-Śrī Mahābhavagupta-pādānudhyāta-Paranamita-rajña prasevita-Padāravinda-yugalaḥ-Śrī Mahāśivagupta-Śrī Yayatidevaḥ*. From the *Prasasti* it is evident that he defeated the kings of Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kāñci, Kalinga and Utkala including Gauḍa and Rāḍha. We may infer that such a powerful king who became the possessor of enormous wealth by the conquest of the aforesaid countries, might also have constructed some temples. After the extinction of the Bhaumas, their accumulated wealth must have passed on to this king, who, being religious minded and a follower of the Brāhmanical faith, might have utilised them for the above purpose. This was almost a convention among the rulers in those days. It is possible, therefore, that Yayāti used a large part of this wealth for building a temple for the family deity of the Bhaumas who accepted Vaiṣṇavism towards the last part of their rule. This assumption is strengthened by an information furnished by the *Mādalāpāñji* which supports the fact that Yayāti Keśarī was the king who constructed the temple of Jagannātha.<sup>4</sup>

If the identity of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II with Yayāti Keśarī of the *Mādalāpāñji* is accepted, then the tradition recorded in the text that the latter invited many Brāhmaṇas from Northern India for the performance of *Yajñas* at Jājpur, his capital town, may also be accepted. The Somavaṁśī king Yayāti Keśarī thus established Brāhmanism in the city which was previously a Buddhist centre. He

also started the construction of the great temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśvara in honour of his own family-god, Maheśvara. This is also recorded in the *Mādalāpāñji*.<sup>5</sup>

Although we cannot accept every description of the *Mādalāpāñji* as historical truth, we cannot at the same time reject all its records. The construction of the temples of Lord Puruṣottama at Puri and of Kṛttivāsa at Bhuvaneśvara remains as important as anything else because these are monumental works, and as such the tradition that credits the king Yayāti Keśari as the founder of the great temples of Puri and Bhuvaneśvara may be given historical value. This is supported, to some extent, by the fact that Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II's power and greatness are described in epigraphical records and he is remarkably eulogised.

According to the Kalidindi grant of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I, who ascended the throne in 1022-23 A.D., the king worshipped Śrī Puruṣottama of Śrī Dhāma. This is mentioned in the invocation of his grant<sup>6</sup> which runs as follows :—

Śrīdhāmaḥ Puruṣottamaśya  
mahato Nārāyaṇasya Prabhor-  
Nābhi-paṅkeruhāda bhava-  
jagataḥ sraṣṭā svayambhūḥ smṛtaḥ.

From this we presume that Śrīdhāma or Śrīkṣetra (Puri), where Lord Puruṣottama was installed, attracted a king like Rāja Rāja I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, who happened to be a relation of Choḍagaṅga, the constructor of the present temple of Jagannātha.<sup>6a</sup> It is thus evident that Lord Puruṣottama was honoured and worshipped in Utkala long before its conquest by Choḍagaṅga. This corroborates our theory that it was Yayāti who really began the construction of the temple of Jagannātha, but left it incomplete. It was Choḍagaṅga who undertook the work and brought it to completion.

We may mention, in this connection, an important event as recorded in the *Mādalāpāñji*. This is known as the invasion of Raktabāhu that took place 146 years before the accession of Yayāti. This Raktabāhu is described as a Yavana who, coming with a large cargo along the sea-route, caused a great devastation at Puri. The people fled away in terror taking the image of Jagannātha for safety to Sonepur.<sup>7</sup> This terrible invasion, according to the *Pāñji*, took place just about a century and half before Yayāti Keśari reinstated the image in its original place, and got the title of Indradyumna II.<sup>8</sup> Now, we have to consider two factors which, we think, are absolutely necessary for the determination of the authenticity of this tradition. We should first calculate the exact time when this invasion took place,



and secondly, identify, the Yavana king Raktabāhu, who was a terror to the worshippers of Jagannātha.

The whole story of the Raktabāhu's invasion, as recorded in the earlier manuscripts of the *Mādalāpāñji* was available to A. S. Sterling in its unmodified form.<sup>9</sup> Yayāti Keśarī of this story is to be identified with Yayāti I or Yayāti II of the Somavamśi dynasty, both of whom ruled in the 10th century A.D. Even if we suppose that the invasion of Raktabāhu is historical, it cannot be pushed back beyond the 8th century A.D. Hunter identifies Raktabāhu's invasion with the Greek invasion of Orissa; but, this is not supported by the history of Orissa.<sup>10</sup> R. D. Banerji considers it to be a Scythian invasion and thus thinks that the so-called Puri Kuśān Coins that are found all over Orissa were current during the Scythian period.<sup>11</sup> We cannot accept these two identifications of Hunter and Banerji because of the fact that the interval between Raktabāhu's invasion and the rule of Yayāti Keśarī has been given as only 146 years.

On the basis of these identifications, this interval will be, not 146 years, but several centuries. Besides, according to the *Pāñji*, Raktabāhu's invasion took place during the reign of Somavamśi king Sobhanadeva, and this Somavamśi is a mistake for Bhaumavamśi according to K. C. Panigrahi.<sup>12</sup> It has also been suggested by the same scholar that the invasion of Puri by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III is nothing but Raktabāhu's invasion as recorded in *Mādalāpāñji*.<sup>13</sup> But, there are no definite data which would enable us to accept Panigrahi's suggestion.

So far as the name of Raktabāhu is concerned, it tempts us to look to the Bāhu family of Ceylon, who had contacts with the kings of Kalinga, especially the Maṭharas, from a very early time. It might be that the name Raktabāhu was not properly pronounced by the authors of *Mādalāpāñji*. But, our stand is that, so far as the religious matters between Kalinga and Ceylon are concerned, there was not only the mutual association but perhaps there developed also some hostility on religious matters. We may presume that the king belonging to the Bāhu family of Ceylon or some one from Jāvā might have attacked Puri during the 8th century A.D. It is, however, true that no proper historical record is available to us as regards the actual time of this invasion.

Although Yayāti Keśarī II might have started the construction of the temple of Puruṣottama some time in the early part of the 10th century A.D., the work remained incomplete for some reason or other for a long time. It is true that his successors, who might have completed the temple of Kṛttivāsa (Lingarāja) at Bhuvaneśvara, did not pay much attention to the completion of the temple of Puruṣottama at Puri (as they were Śaivas). When Anantavarman Chodagaṅga

undertook the incomplete work of Yayāti, the *Praśasti* writers of the Imperial Gaṅgas took pride to say much in favour of the king.<sup>14</sup> The relevant verses in the Gaṅga inscription run as follows :

*Pādaḥ yasya dharāntarikṣamakhilān  
nābhistu sarvāḍīśaḥ  
Śrotre netrayugaṁ ravinduyugalaṁ  
mūrdhāpica dyaurasau  
Prasādaṁ Puruṣottamasya nṛpaleḥ ko nāma  
karttuṁ kṣamaḥ.  
Tasyetyādyanṛpairupekṣitamayaṁ cakretha  
Gaṅgeśvaraḥ*

“What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a God as Puruṣottama, whose feet are the three worlds, whose navel is the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and the moon, and whose head the heaven (above)? This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings was fulfilled by Gaṅgeśvara.” Here is also a reference to the construction of a temple of Lakṣmī by the same monarch (cf. V. 28 of the *Praśasti*). The relevant verse runs as follows :

*Lakṣmījanmagṛhaṁ payonidhirasau  
sambhāvitasya sthitir-  
nānāśi śvaśurasya pūjyata iti  
kṣīrāvdhivāsa dhruvaṁ  
nirvinṇaḥ Puruṣottamaḥ pramuditas-  
taddhāma lābhādramā-  
pyetad bhartṛ-gṛhaṁ varam pītṛ-gṛhaṁ  
Prāpya pramodānvitā.*

( The ocean is the birth place of Lakṣmī ; so thinking in his father-in-law's house Viṣṇu lodged with shame though he got full adoration. Thus ashamed the god Puruṣottama was glad to get this new house and Lakṣmī too gladly preferred to live in her husband's new house. )

*J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 229.

We find here for the first time, in the epigraphical records, a description of Puruṣottama, the Lord of the three worlds, regarding his universal nature or Viśvarūpa as depicted in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Of course, we find before this in literature a description of Jagannātha as the Lord of the world. The first mention of Jagannātha as the manifestation of the Buddha is found in the work, ‘*Jñānasiddhi*’



of Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna, who was the founder of the Vajrayāna system of Buddhism. The author begins this work after offering his obeisance to Jagannātha Buddha.

*Pranipatya Jagannāthaṁ Sarvajinavarārcitam  
Sarva Buddhamayaṁ siddhivipināṁ Gaganopamam*

Jagannātha propitiated by Indrabhūti in the beginning of his work can be identified with Jagannātha of Puri for various reasons. This is advocated by K. N. Mohapatra in the *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 7.

From the life-history of Choḍagaṅga it is revealed that he possessed as many as ninety-nine thousand elephants,<sup>15</sup> that he ruled the country extending from the Ganges in the north as far as the Godāvarī in the south, that he defeated the kings of Utkala and Viṅgi where he erected two pillars of victory each decorated with a garland-like necklace of the goddess Śrī, symbolising the glory of his great victory, that he conquered the country of Mandāra in Gauḍa,<sup>16</sup> and that he was engaged for a long time in war with the Cedis of Ratnapur.<sup>17</sup> Thus, he acquired a large amount of wealth which was carried, according to a popular tradition, on the back of his war elephants and was poured into a well, which was dug in the premises of the present temple of Jagannātha, is still called by the name 'Sunā kuaṇ' (the gold well). When the well was filled to the brim the temple work was started. According to the *Mādalāpāñji*, the *sunā kuaṇ* was excavated by Anaṅgabhimadeva.<sup>18</sup>

R. L. Mitra quotes a verse, giving the credit of the construction of the temple to Anaṅgabhimadeva III.<sup>19</sup>

*Sakābde randhraśubhṛāṁśurūpanakṣatranōyake  
Prāsādaṁ kārayāmāsa-anaṅgabhimena dhimatā.*

It means that in the Śaka year 1119 or A.D. 1197, the temple was constructed by the king Anaṅgabhimadeva. Most probably it was copied from a traditional account found in the Campukāvya "*Gaṅgavāṁśānucaritam*" written by Vāsudeva Ratha of the 18th century A.D. In that kāvya, there is this verse<sup>20</sup> :

*Aṅka kṣauṇi śaśāṅkendusammite śakuvatsare  
Anaṅgabhimadevena prāsādaḥ śrīpateḥ kṛtaḥ.*

This tradition was most probably interpolated into *Mādalāpāñji* ; hence the confusing record that Anaṅgabhimadeva constructed the temple.<sup>21</sup>

In the face of clear evidence from epigraphical sources regarding the construction of the temple by Choḍagaṅga, it is surprising that *Mādalāpāñji* and a few other later texts transferred the credit of building the temple to Anaṅgabhimā or Aniyaṅkabhimā III of 1211 A.D.<sup>22</sup> In this connection, S. N. Rājaguru says that

according to the Nagari copper-plate grant of Anaṅgabhimadeva III of 1230 A.D., a temple of Jagannātha was built at Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka or the modern Cuttack by that king. Perhaps, the compiler of *Mādalāpāṇji* confused the temple of Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka with the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri (also the view of D. C. Sircar), and that the story subsequently passed into popular lore.<sup>23</sup> We fully agree with the view of the scholars who remark that at the end of Choḍagaṅga's prolonged war with the Kālacuris and Cedis, and after his suppression of the rebellion which took place in the border area of his kingdom in or about 1135 A.D., he devoted his attention to the construction of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri.<sup>24</sup> This fact is mentioned for the first time in the Disagobā copper-plates of his grandson Rījarījadeva II (1170-1193 A.D.).

Now the question is whether Puruṣottama as a deity was known in much earlier time. It is true that in many of the grants of the early mediaeval period issued to the Brāhmaṇas in Kāliṅga, Toṇālī, Dakṣiṇa Kośala and other neighbouring states we do not find any reference to the deity. But, Puruṣottama is mentioned in a copper plate grant discovered at the village of Maihar (Satna district, M.P.) situated far from the orbit of these regions. The date of this grant has been assigned by D. C. Sircar to the middle of the 10th century A.D. on paleographical grounds. It contains the following verse :

*Samudramajjanānnānamoḍreṣu Puruṣottamañ  
Dṛṣtvā tavanāntike bhūyaḥ purāgacchatyañ śiṣuḥ<sup>25</sup>*

The last stanza of this section (verse 35) puts the following words in Brhaspati's mouth : "Verily, this child will again come back to you as a result of being drowned in (the waters of) the sea after having seen Puruṣottama in the Oḍḍra country." The reference here is to the god Puruṣottama Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa.

The above epigraphical record shows that Puruṣottama of Oḍḍradeśa was so famous that it attracted many people from Madhyapradeśa. There is possibly of a much earlier reference to Puruṣottama (Jagannātha) in the Kailan copper-plate of Śrīdharaṇa Rāta, the chief of Samataṭa (S.E. Bengal). The chief who was a *Paramavaiṣṇava* mentions Bhagavān Puruṣottama, as the creator, preserver and destroyer. The record has been dated by D. C. Sircar to the second half of the seventh century A.D. But, as Viṣṇu in the form of Puruṣottama is worshipped in no other part of India except Orissa, we may be sure of the identity of this Puruṣottama with Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri.<sup>26</sup> We are tempted to quote here some of the lines from the said Kailan copper plate grant to elucidate our point. The relevant verse runs as follows :



*“Viditamastu vo niruṣamaguṇaguṇaguhaśālini  
Jagadudayasthitinirodha vividha prapañcadhāmani  
vibudhasattama śatamakha śatruśatānavyaśāsana-  
vilasitāyatane Bhagavati Puruṣottame paramaye  
vinivēsitāśayaśraddhayā.”*

It means “with due respect and devotion to Lord Puruṣottama who being accomplished with all virtues cannot be compared with any one since none possesses all these qualities (virtues) responsible for the creation, protection and destruction of the universe and who is always engaged in subduing the enemies of Indra.”

The *Bārhaspatyasūtram* which mentions the Puruṣottama Kṣetra among other sacred Vaiṣṇava kṣetras<sup>25</sup>, gives the exact distance of the same from the famous place Dvārakā (*Dvārakādi Puruṣottama śālagrāmānta saptaśata yojanā*). From Dvārakā as far as Puruṣottama and the Śālagrāma is a distance of seven hundred yojanas. Pt. Bhagavad Datta holds that the work is not anterior to the sixth or seventh century A.D.<sup>25c</sup>

In the plates of Daṇḍi Mahādevi who lived in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. it is mentioned that she donated some lands in favour of Bhaṭṭaputra Puruṣottama of Kāśyapa Gotra.<sup>26</sup> She also granted the village known as Rasambhā in Koṅgadamaṇḍala. This Rasambhā has been identified with modern Rambhā of the Puri district by Pandit Vinayaka Miśra.<sup>27</sup> Another name of a poet called Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama is also found in the Brahmeśvara temple inscription at Bhuvaneśvara, which was inscribed in the third regnal year of Udyota-Keśari of the 11th century A.D.<sup>28</sup> But, the earliest inscription so far known to us in this family where the donee's name is recorded as Puruṣottama is the Neulpur plate of Subhākaradeva I,<sup>29</sup> who was a *Parama saugata*, but who granted lands in favour of as many as one hundred Brāhmaṇas. In the long list of the grantees mentioned in the inscription there are four persons bearing the name of Puruṣottama, three persons bearing the name of Balabhadra, and one person of the name Haladhara. Since the said copper-plate is attributed to the later part of the 8th century A.D.,<sup>30</sup> we have every reason to believe that Puruṣottama and Balabhadra were popular deities of this locality, after whom a *brāhmaṇa* father named his sons as Puruṣottama or Balabhadra. It is, therefore, clear that towards the latter part of the 7th century A.D., the deities of Puruṣottama and Balabhadra were popular, and as we have stated before, they were probably installed in a sacred place on the sea-shore.

To corroborate the above statement we now turn our attention to ancient Sanskrit Literature and other works. In the Sanskrit drama “*Anargharāghavan*” of Murāri, the *Prastāvanā* verse is devoted to Puruṣottama. It is stated that the drama was dedicated to the god Puruṣottama during the sacred occasion of his car festival.

According to S. K. De and S. N. Dasgupta, the drama was written some time towards the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century A.D.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the epigraphical record of naming some Brāhmaṇas as Puruṣottama or Balabhadra is endorsed by the above-mentioned literary evidence. The drama refers not only to the deity Puruṣottama but also to his Car Festival.<sup>32</sup>

*Nandyante Sūtradharah :—Alamativistareṇa.*

*Bho bho Lavaṇoda-velā-vanāli tamālataru-*

*kaṇḍalaiya tribhuvanamauli-maṇḍaṇa-mahānīlamanēḥ*

*Kamalā-kuca-kalaśa-keli-kastūrikā-patrāṅkurasya*

*Bhagavataḥ Puruṣottamasya yātrāyaṁ upasthānīya-*

*sabhāsadaḥ.*

In another Sanskrit drama known as “*Prabodhacandrodaya*” written by Kṛṣṇa Miśra, the court-poet of the Chandālla king Kirtivarman (1041-1070), mention is made of the *Devāyatana* of the God Puruṣottama.<sup>33</sup> It is no other god than Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri, and the word *devāyatana* as referred to in this drama, suggests that a temple of Puruṣottama was existing before a new temple was started by Yayāti and later on completed by Choḍagaṅga. The exact position, however, of that old temple situated on the sea-shore cannot be ascertained.

Besides these, mention of Jagannātha is also made in some Tāntric works of the 10th and 11th centuries. Thus, in the *Rudrayāmala*, a Tāntric work, we find a reference to Jagannātha. The date of this Tantra has not yet been finally fixed by scholars; yet the date of another Tāntric work, viz. *Brahmayāmala* in which the aforesaid Tantra, *Rudrayāmala*, is mentioned, has been ascertained. This *Brahmayāmala*, the manuscript of which has been preserved in the Darbar Library of Nepal, was copied out in 1052 A.D.<sup>34</sup> So the Tāntric work, *Rudrayāmala*, must have been written some years before 1052 A.D. and as such it may tentatively be assigned to a period from 950 to 1000 A.D. This date for *Rudrayāmala* is corroborated from the fact that a portion of it was commented upon by Mahāmaheśvarācārya Abhinava Gupta, who lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.<sup>35</sup> The glory of Jagannātha is described at two places in this famous tāntric work.

The “*Tantrayāmala*” and the “*Kālikā Purāṇa*” also describe the Dārurūpi Jagannātha as the presiding deity of the Puruṣottama Kṣetra in Utkala. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* goes as far as to say that Jagannātha is the supreme deity of Udra Deśa.<sup>36</sup>

- (a) *Bhārata colkaḍeṣe bhūsvarge Puruṣottamaḥ*  
*Dārurūpi Jagannāthaḥ bhaktānāmbhayopraḍaḥ.*

(The *Tantrayāmala*)



(b) *Jagannātham Odraṣaṁ ca prapījayet.*

(Kālika Purāṇa)

The partially published Pujāripali Inscription of one Gopāla Deva of the Nāga family gives a list of holy places; in this list we find the name of Puruṣottama.<sup>37</sup>

This inscription has been attributed to the eleventh century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. In the Boramdeo temple there is another inscription of the reign of Gopāla Deva bearing a date in the Kālacuri era 840 A.D. (1083). This is perhaps one of the earlier references to Puruṣottama Kṣetra in the epigraphical records so far discovered.<sup>38</sup>

But, as we have already said, it is in the Kailan copper-plate grant of Śrīdhārāṇa Rāta that we get the earliest reference to Puruṣottama. The Kalidindi grant also refers to Śrīdhāma as well as Puruṣottama (1031 A.D.).

In Satānanda's *Bhāsvatī* we find that the author, son of Śaṅkara and Sarasvatī, was a resident of Puri and finished this work in Kaliyuga year 4200 or 1100 A.D. at this sacred place of Puruṣottama.<sup>39</sup>

The next references to Puruṣottama Kṣetra are to be found in the Nagpur stone inscription of the rulers of Malvā of the Vikrama year 1161 or 1104 A.D.<sup>40</sup>

*Kṛtya Kalpataru*, a text on Dharmasāstra of 1110 A.D., quoting from *Vāmana Purāṇa*, mentions the Puruṣottama Kṣetra<sup>41</sup> along with Viraja. The text, however, does not include Puruṣottama in the list of *tīrthas*.

While discussing the Govindapur Stone inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara, Kielhorn says that Manoratha, the father of Gaṅgādhara, came on a pilgrimage to Puruṣottama in Circa 1120 A.D.<sup>42</sup> All these literary and historical evidences show that the Dhāma or Śrīkṣetra with the god Puruṣottama was well-known in Pre-Gaṅga period and even much earlier.<sup>43</sup>

After arriving at the conclusion that the deities Puruṣottama and Balabhadra were worshipped some time before the 8th century A.D., we have little doubt that they were regarded as the *Rāṣṭradevatās* of Koṅgaḍa and Toṣalī which were, by that time, occupied by the Bhaumas, who, towards the latter part of their rule, embraced Vaiṣṇavism. At the same time, the Vajrayāna School of Buddhism was quite popular in this tract because a large number of Buddhist images have been discovered here. Moreover, the existence of two "64 Yoginī-Pīṭhas" one at Hirāpur near Bhuvaneśwara and the other at Rānīpura, Jharia (Photos 3 and 4) in Bolangir

district gives a clear evidence of the prevalence of the Tāntric form of religion in this part of Orissa.<sup>44</sup> The deities in the Vārāhi temple at Caurāsī near Kākatpur (Puri district), and the Vaitāla Deula at Bhuvaneśwara, apart from the old Virajā temple at Jājpur in Cuttack district, corroborate this fact.<sup>45</sup> The Vajrayānists used to worship different gods and goddesses some of which were from the Brāhmanical pantheon. So, we may infer that it was the time when an attempt was made towards affecting the assimilation of Brāhminism and Buddhism. The Bhaumakaras were mainly responsible for the introduction of this idea probably to maintain peace and tranquillity in their kingdom. They were perturbed by the influence of Śaivism and the religious campaign started by Śaṅkarācārya. Towards the end of the reigning period of Śubhākara II, who was a *Paramasaugata*, many Brāhmaṇas assembled in his court to whom he granted lands liberally.

About this time, a new title, *Paramavaiṣṇava* was introduced in the Bhaumakara dynasty and Śubhākara's mother, Tribhuvana Mahādevī, used that title.<sup>46</sup> It is curious to note, in this connection, that a stone sculpture of about the 8th or 9th century A.D. depicts the scene of three images placed on a bullock cart being dragged by people.<sup>47</sup> The said sculpture is now preserved in the State Museum at Bhuvaneśwara (Plate 5). These three images on the bullock cart may be taken to be three gods, having been worshipped by the Bhaumas who were the sovereign rulers of that period, and who had embraced Buddhism. It is probable that while the spiritual preceptors of the Bhaumas interpreted these *vāṅśra-devatās*, Puruṣottama and Balabhadra together with the goddess Stambheśvarī, as the gods and goddesses derived from the Buddhist pantheon, the Brāhmaṇas in their part, took these deities as the *Trimūrti* in accordance with the descriptions of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā. Their association with the divine *cakra* is well represented in a passage found in the copper-plate grant of Netṭabhaṇjadeva. In that inscription we come across the following passage :

“*Puruṣottamacakrapraṭiṣṭhāyām*”

K. C. Panigrahi, who edited this inscription, suggested that the deity might have been installed in the kingdom of the Bhaṇjas and worshipped as their own family deity. It is also supported from the inscription of Śatrubhaṇja of the Bhauma era 198 (934 A.D.)<sup>48</sup>, where he (Śatrubhaṇja) is described as granting lands on the occasion of a Vaiṣṇava ceremony, the Utthāna Dvādasi, (Viṣṇu's rising from sleep). It is a clear indication that the Bhaṇjas embraced Vaiṣṇavism of the Śrī Sampradāya (sect) which was popular in South India and Kāliṅga.<sup>49</sup> From all these accounts we conclude that Vaiṣṇavism, which developed through the mingling of the Buddhist Tāntric Cult, and the Śrī sect, was associated with the symbolised images of Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā.



We shall now turn our attention to the time of Choḍagaṅga who built the temple at Puri some time after 1112 A.D. This was immediately after the amalgamation of the kingdom of the Somavaṃśi kings with Kaliṅga. For the first time he used the title of *Paramavaiṣṇava* in 1118 A.D. The epithet *Paramamāheśvara*, as ascribed to him, was used by his ancestors ever since they established their kingdom in Kaliṅga after the Māṅharas. It proves that the Gaṅgas were originally believers in Śaivism till the time of Choḍagaṅga, who embraced Vaiṣṇavism as well as Śaivism. His capital was at Mukhaliṅgam (Kaliṅganagara) where he ruled upto 1111 or 1112 A.D. Afterwards he shifted his capital to a place near the present Cuttack and ruled from there till 1147 A.D.<sup>50</sup> It was during this period that Vaiṣṇavism took a new shape in Kaliṅga.

In the south, at about this time, the philosophy of Viśiṣṭā-dvaitavāda was being propagated by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teachers like Rāmānuja and others. Choḍagaṅga having close connections with Cholas and Chālukyas of the south, naturally felt inclined to the South Indian Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, and his ministers and advisers also influenced him in this direction.<sup>51</sup> He was thus a follower of Śaivism before his conquest of Utkala, and towards the end of his reign he adopted Vaiṣṇavism. We may refer, in this connection, to a stone inscription of the Garteśvara temple in the village of Alagum of the Puri district. It records that a brāhmiṇ named Kāmāṇḍi was, attached as *Disāhpate* to some religious institution and he used both the titles of *Paramamāheśvara* and *Paramavaiṣṇava* like Choḍagaṅga and made some endowments in favour of the Lord Garteśvara in 1136 A.D. He belonged to the Chola country and was an inhabitant of a village named Kāḍaṃbara.<sup>52</sup> That was the time when Rāmānuja's philosophy threw a new light on the religious history of Vaiṣṇavism.<sup>53</sup> During that period of resurrection, a king like Choḍagaṅga did not fail to devote his wealth and time to the popularisation of the teachings of these philosophers of South India. This attempt of propagating the Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa resulted in the worship of the Vaiṣṇavite deities in the Buddhist Tāntric way with an admixture of the Brāhmanical ritualism. The details regarding the fundamentals of these different systems of Vaiṣṇavism will be discussed in the chapter on theology.

Choḍagaṅga, as a monarch and a patron of religion, saved Utkal from heterogenous and conflicting theories relating to the worship of this god, Puruṣottama, who happened to be an object of contest between the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmanas. He fully realised that for his country a fresh danger became imminent in the form of a Muslim invasion from the north-eastern region.<sup>54</sup> He thus brought about some harmony between the Buddhists and the Brāhmanas in the greater interest of the country. Perhaps his stern administration with equal emphasis on religion and politics made Orissa such a strong country that it could not be occupied by the Muslims for more than three hundred years. He was regarded not only as a



popular king among the Hindus, but also as a mighty ruler by the Buddhist kings of Ceylon.<sup>55</sup> The *Mahāvamsa* gives us a description of his visit to Ceylon and also some matrimonial alliance between the Buddhist kings of Ceylon and the royal family of Kaliṅga.<sup>56</sup> His son, Kāmārṇava, is said to have visited Ceylon. The friendship of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa with the Buddhist kings of Ceylon was possible because of some religious understanding between the Buddhists and the Hindus.<sup>57</sup>

Choḍagaṅga's son Kāmārṇava, was anointed as *Tuvarāja* during the lifetime of his father in Śaka 1064 at the temple of Sarvalokaikaṇātha, i.e. Jagannātha. The relevant verse of the Gaṅga Inscription runs as follows :

*Vedartuzyomacandrapramitaśakasamāḥ prāptakāle dīnēṣe  
Cāpastenyagrhaughe balavativipuṣu prakṣayam prāptavatsu  
Asmin mūrdhābhīṣikte nṛpavaratanaye sarvalokaikaṇāthe  
Śrīmat Kāmārṇavesau jagatyabhavadidaṃ tattadānandapūṇam.*

If this *Sarvalokaikaṇātha* is the same as *Puruṣottama-Jagannātha* of Puri, we can then infer that in the year 1142 A.D. the deities were installed in the temple which was constructed by Kāmārṇava's father, Choḍagaṅga.<sup>58</sup> Thus, we may conclude that the present temple of Jagannātha at Puri which might have been started by Yayāti II in the middle of the 10th century A.D., remained incomplete or partially completed upto about 1113 A.D. when Choḍagaṅga took up the work and completed it some time before 1142 A.D., so that his son could be anointed as *Tuvarāja* in that sacred place.

After the completion of the temple, Puri attained religious importance throughout India. A king of Puṇḍravardhana (Bengal) named Bhojavarmadeva records in one of his grants, the greatness of the divine Lord *Puruṣottama* as follows :

*Itiyam guṇagāthābhīṣṭuṣṭo vaḥ Puruṣottamaḥ  
Majjayanniva vag Brahma-māya-nanda-mahodadhau.*

R. C. Majumdar gives the following translation of the verse<sup>59</sup> :

"By such eulogistic verses *Puruṣottama* was extolled by him, making him plunge into the great ocean, namely that of bliss, emanating from *Brāhmaṇ* who is the same as speech." By completing the construction of the present temple of Jagannātha, Choḍagaṅga served two purposes—religious and political. He won the heart of the people of Kaliṅga by constructing the temple for their *Rāṣṭradevatās*, the work which remained neglected by the previous rulers. He also invited religious preceptors and reformers from the South, through whom he conducted a great reorientation for the religious activities of this locality.<sup>60</sup> It is quite probable that



during this time the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists of north-eastern India, troubled by the Muslim invaders, preferred to take shelter in this land. We may also assume that Orissa, which was not so much over-run by the Muslims like Gauḍa and Rāḍha, became the abode of shelter for the unfortunate refugees from these places. In the eyes of the Hindus and the Buddhists of that period, Puri attained therefore the status of Jerusalem in Eastern India. So, innumerable literary works in praise of Puruṣottama Dhāma and Jagannātha were composed, and Puri came to be considered in literature as one of the four important *Dhāmas* (Holy places) of India located in its four extreme corners. The epithet *nātha* signifies Jagannātha at Puri (East India), Rāmanātha in the extreme south of Indian Peninsula, Dvārkanātha in Gujarāt and Badrinātha on the Himālayās. In course of time Puri assumed greater importance than the other *Dhāmas* because it came to be regarded as the culminating resort of all pilgrims.

Towards the end of the 12th century A.D., the political condition of northern and eastern India was suddenly changed due to Muhammedan invasions. At first the Muhammedans entered into India as raiders and towards the beginning of the 13th century they appeared as conquerors. One Iktiaruddin Baktiyar Khilzi penetrated into the heart of Gauḍa and established his supremacy there. That was the period when the Brāhmaṇical religion had to face a great crisis and confusion prevailing not only in Gauḍa and Magadha but also in some regions beyond the Vindhya range of mountains, as hinted in the Chāṭeśvara inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhimadeva III.<sup>61</sup> Many refugees, especially the Hindus, took shelter under the protection of the Gajapati kings of Orissa. Choḍagaṅga's grandson, Rāja-rāja III, was one of the kings of the Imperial Gaṅgas who strongly resisted the first Muhammedan invasion from Bengal. From the Muhammedan historians we learn that the Seron brothers once attempted to raid the northern parts of Orissa; but this attempt was frustrated by Rāja-rāja III. It is further known from inscriptional evidence that Rāja-rāja engaged himself to suppress the Chedis who were troubling the imperial Gaṅgas since the time of Choḍagaṅga. He also successfully annihilated the armies of the Muhammedans with the help of his able and strong commanders, viz. Viṣṇu and Moṅkaṇa Chamwnātha.<sup>62</sup>

After Rāja-rāja III, the Muhammedan aggression, however, did not cease. This time the Muhammedans had a very strong army from Gauḍa to fight against the king of Utkal,<sup>63</sup> but Aniaṅkabhīma III, who was a shrewd and strong monarch, did not allow them even to begin their march towards Utkal from the fort of Lakṣmaṇāvati, while his son Narasiṃha<sup>64</sup> I took an aggressive policy to capture that fort of Lakṣmaṇāvati through his own army headed by his brother-in-law, Paramardideva. This time the Muhammedans sustained such a defeat that their



court-historians could not but admit this fact though in a somewhat mild tone.<sup>65</sup> Thereafter, a lull fell in for some time which enabled the Gaṅga Prince Anaṅga-bhīmadeva III to devote his attention for the reorganisation of the temple of Jagannātha. Probably, this is the reason why in *Mādalāpāñji*<sup>66</sup> he is regarded as the builder of the temple of Jagannātha. From his Nagari copper-plate inscription<sup>67</sup> we learn that he built a temple of Jagannātha in the city of Vārāṇasi Kaṭaka. After this he might have devoted his time to reorganising the temple administration at Puri, the fact which has been elaborately described in the *Mādalāpāñji*.

So far as our knowledge goes, it was this king who regarded Puruṣottama as the real Emperor, himself being his representative.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, in some of his inscriptions in the Pātaleśvara temple at Puri, the *Śrāhi* year of Puruṣottama is given instead of his own. Being misled by this, some scholars concluded that Puruṣottama was the second name of Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva. His successors continued the same practice of using the *Śrāhi* year of Puruṣottama. So, it is quite clear that the king Aniyaṅkabhīma III regarded the deity Puruṣottama as the supreme lord and protector of his kingdoms, Kalinga and Utkal. Our theory about Puruṣottama-Jagannātha as the *Raṣṭradevatā* is well established by this practice of some of the rulers of Utkal. Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva reigned from 1211/1212 A.D. to 1233/39 A.D. During this period a Muslim king named Ghiyāsuddin Iwaz invaded Jājñagar. According to the *Tabākat-i-Nasiri*, Ghiyāsuddin used to collect some tribute from the kings of Jājñagar, Bengal, Kāmarūp and Trihut.<sup>69</sup> But, from epigraphical sources we come to know that the Gaṅga kings took some aggressive action against the Muslim (Yavana) kings of Bengal. Thus, the above statement, as given in the *Tabākat-i-Nasiri*, is not reliable because though Ghiyāsuddin invaded Orissa twice, i.e. in 1211 and 1224 A.D., Rāja-rāja III and his son, Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, claimed that they defeated the kings of Lakṣmaṇavati several times.<sup>70</sup>

Like Choḍagaṅga, he also used the title of *Paramavaiṣṇava* and *Paramamahēśvara*. Further, he used the title, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, as well as three other titles, viz. *Durgāputra*, *Śrī Puruṣottamaputra* and *Rudraputra*. The last three titles supply some clue to our theory regarding the installation of the three deities at different places in the early medieval age in Orissa. Unless we hold that these three presiding deities of Puri were regarded as the family gods and goddesses, viz. Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā (Śakti), it is not possible to explain the expression made in a stone inscription of Drāksārām in the east Godāvari district where the above new titles of Anaṅgabhīma III have been used (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1329, p. 467). The above mentioned inscription was made in the 8th *Śrāhi* or the *Aika* year of Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva III and its date is equivalent to 1229 A.D.<sup>71</sup>

He (Anaṅgabhīma III) being a devout worshipper of Puruṣottama, Durgā



and Balabhadra probably used to offer his *pūja* before these deities for which he constructed another temple in his capital town at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka or Abhinava Vārāṇasī. This town is identified with the modern Cuttack and is situated at a distance of about 57 miles from Puri. The worship of Puruṣottama along with Balabhadra and Subhadrā by the king and his successors gave rise to a separate cult afterwards.<sup>72</sup> It is curious to note that Bhadrāmbikā was the family goddess of the Somavaṁśi kings in the time of Yayāti II who mentioned the name of the goddess as Pañchāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā in one of his C.P. grants. (Vide *Ins. Or.*, Vol. IV, p. 391, by S. N. Rājaguru).

So far as the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa are concerned, Aniyaṅkabhīma III intensified the worship of Jagannātha in Orissa more than the previous kings. We, however, learn from the epigraphical records of some Bhaṅja kings that Śrī Vaiṣṇavism was accepted by them. Puruṣottama including his main weapon *cakra* or *cakranārāyaṇa* was also adopted from about this time, which is evident from the Orissa Museum Plates of Neṭṭabhaṅjadeva. We will discuss this aspect in the chapter on theology. It will suffice here to suggest that the cult of Puruṣottama was not limited to the coastal districts of Orissa, but spread over a vast area.

According to the *Madalāpāñji*, Anaṅgabhimadeva established the temple-administration in a very systematic way. He prescribed for the first time, 36 types of duties for the *sevakas* known as the *chatisāniyoga*.<sup>73</sup> This system of *niyogas* was perhaps in vogue in the Royal residents of Orissa.

The Paṇḍā-system which was created in his time is almost parallel to the Missionary organisation of the 19th century Christians. The main function of the *paṇḍās* was not only to preach religion among the people, but also to render diplomatic services for the state as well as for the king. Besides, the financial position of the temple improved through this organisation. The *paṇḍās* and their servants performed a double role. They assisted the king by secretly gathering informations about the movement of the enemies, while they spared no pains to attract pilgrims to visit Śrīkṣetra. The *paṇḍās* also studied the diverse languages spoken by the pilgrims coming from all over the country as well as the diversity of their culture and developed the character and personality for working as a co-ordinating link to the varying multitude. Thus, they became an important agency for religious unification of the country and through their activities Puri attained a Pan-Indian status.

The credit for this wonderful organisation goes to Anaṅgabhimadeva III. This king is popularly known as Anaṅgabhimadeva III; but, in inscriptions he is styled as Aniyaṅkabhīma (III). He might have also completed some structures



attached to the main shrine which were left incomplete during the time of Choḍagaṅga. If, in this connection, we give any credence to the *Mādalāpaṅji* for its statement that in the 15th regnal year of the king Aniyaṅkabhīma III, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, Thursday, was the precise date of consecration of the temple and the installation of the deities in it, then we have to suggest that he might also have made some additional improvements in the main temple, namely, the Jagamohana as well as some adjoining parts. The date which is given above corresponds to the 1st March, Thursday 1235 A.D. According to Swāmi Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. IV, p. 72), this consecration ceremony took place at about the mid-day when the 10th *tithi* ended and the 11th *tithi* or Ekādaśī commenced. According to the above work, the 10th *tithi* ended at about 11-30 A.M. on that day.<sup>74</sup> So, the statement as found in the *Mādalāpaṅji* cannot be rejected so far as the date of the construction of the additional part of the temple is concerned. He also granted some villages in favour of the deity and the Brāhmaṇas who settled in the districts of Puri and Cuttack.

Nowhere in the main temple of Puruṣottama we find the trace of any inscription relating to charities by the Imperial Gaṅgas, as this would have been contrary to the Hindu convention of that time. Thus the Imperial Gaṅgas did not leave any trace of their *Dharmakṛti* (sacred deeds) in temples built by them. But in the case of other temples which were not built by them, the above restriction was not followed. Therefore, in the temple of Kṛttivāsa or Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśwara we get inscriptions bearing the names of Choḍagaṅga and some of his successors. Similarly, there are records of the time of Choḍagaṅga and Aniyaṅkabhīma III inscribed on the temples of Nṛsiṃha and Pātāleśvara respectively, which are within the precincts of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. In the Narasiṃha temple, the inscription on its gate discloses that in the 58th *aṅka* year or *Śrāhi* of Choḍagaṅga (A.D. 1132), some *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* or 'perpetual lamps' were endowed in the Puruṣottama-Dhāma in favour of the deity by the grant of a village called Māladā. This village (Māladā) may be identified with the modern Māhud, a small island in the Chilkā lake.<sup>75</sup>

Anaṅgabhīma was not only an accomplished ruler but also a great administrator and a staunch follower of Vaiṣṇavism. He anticipated trouble from the Muhammedan conquerors of Bengal, while he found that on the west and the south the kingdom was surrounded by Hindu kings, namely, the Chālukyas and the Chedis. So, he made a proclamation declaring that the kingdoms of Kaliṅga and Utkal, which extended from the Hooghly in the east upto the Godāvari in the south, were donated to and left under the protection of the Supreme Lord of the universe, Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. Thereafter, he used the *Śrāhi* in the name of Puruṣottama



instead of using his own. He acted as the representative or deputy of the Divine Lord in the affairs of running the day-to-day administration of the kingdom. This pious declaration created a tremendous impact on the minds of many Hindu kings, previously hostile to the Gaṅgas. A popular belief of the Hindu kings was that the god's kingdoms, Kalinga and Utkal, were invincible and divinely protected. This religious belief acted as a psychological bulwark for the protection of the country from the southern and western quarters, while the eastern side, adjoining the Muslim kingdom of Gauḍa, remained open to aggression. This side was well defended by the concentration of the entire royal force of Utkal and Kalinga along with the border.

From epigraphical sources we know that Ananābhīmadeva inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chedis of Tumhāṇa through one of his commandants called Viṣṇu. The *Prastāsti* writer describes Viṣṇu, the commandant, as none but Lord Viṣṇu himself who threatened the Chedi king (Śiśupāla) by appearing on all his sides. Here the commandant, Viṣṇu, became a terror to the Chedi king of Tumhāṇa at war.<sup>76</sup> The relevant verse runs as follows :

*Vindhyādreradhīśīmabhimatāśinikujantaṭe' m̐bhoniḍheḥ  
Viṣṇur viṣṇurasāvitibhramavaśāccredīśaḥ paśyataḥ  
Yogābhyāsapaṛiśrameṇa na tathā vaikhāṇasānāmidaṃ  
Viśvam viṣṇumayaṃ yathāpariṇataṃ Tuhmāṇapṭhivṛpateḥ.*

This suggests that the Gajapati kings of Orissa and their *prastāsti* writers propagated the idea that the Lord Viṣṇu used to take an active part even in the battlefield whenever any danger threatened the country. This impression, however, made the Hindu world believe that the country of Utkal was under the direct control of the divine Lord Viṣṇu, *alias* Puruṣottama, and as such, the country should not be invaded but respected and protected from aggression. Apparently it also acted as a force for the political integration of the country.

Towards the close of the 13th century A.D., in the time of Narasimha II (1278-1309 A.D.), a great poet and philosopher named Narahari Tirtha came to Kalinga and lived at Śrīkūṛma Kṣetra which was a centre of Vaiṣṇavism in Kalinga. He lived there as the preceptor of the king of Utkal. According to the tradition, he had to run the administration of Kalinga on behalf of the minor king of Orissa (Narasimhadeva) who subsequently became his disciple. In one of the inscriptions of Śrīkūṛmam of the Śaka year 1215 (A.D. 1293), Narahari Tirtha's name is recorded.<sup>77</sup> He propagated the Mādhya system of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa as directed by his guru Ānandatīrtha. Bhandarkar says that Narahari Tirtha was sent to Jagannātha to bring the original idols of Rāma and Sītā.<sup>78</sup> From the above mentioned inscription of Śrīkūṛmam, we learn that he constructed a temple there



and installed the image of Yogānanda Narasiṃha in the year 1281 A.D. The temple of Śrīkūrmam was considered as not only a seat of Vaiṣṇavism, but also as the *Gurupīṭha* (sacred place of *Gurus*) of the Gaṅga kings of Utkal. The Arcakas (worshippers) of this temple are the followers of the Rāmānuja School of Vaiṣṇavism.<sup>79</sup>

Anaṅgabhīma III's daughter, Candrikā, who married Paramārdi Deva of the Haihaya dynasty, constructed the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśwara (Plate 6) in commemoration of her hero-husband who lost his life in a war against the Muslim kings of Gauḍa.<sup>80</sup> In that temple she installed the images of Haṭi, Kṛṣṇa and another Goddess Ekānāśā (Plate 7 and 8), whose names are found in the inscriptions of Ananta Vāsudeva temple.<sup>81</sup> Two images of Ananta and Vāsudeva (Plate 9) are found fixed on the inner wall of the Vindusāgar tank at Bhuvaneśwara. The images are of the earlier period and this shows the popularity of these two deities in Orissa. After Anaṅgabhīma III, the history of Orissa was glorified by his successors, Narasiṃha I and Bhānu I, who also devoted their wealth and energy towards the construction of temples. The former built the temple of Koṇārka or the Sun-god.

Narasiṃhadeva I, ascended the throne in 1238 A.D. He not only protected the country successfully from the Muslim aggression, but also followed aggressive policy against the Muhammedans by penetrating into the heart of Gauḍa. In the copper-plate inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅgas we get the following verse extolling his glory.<sup>82</sup>

*Rādhāvarendrayavanī-nayanāñjanaśru-  
Pūreṇa dūravinvieṣitakālīmāśrīḥ  
Tadvipralambha karuṇādbhutanistarāṅgā  
Gaṅgāpi nūnam yamunā yamunādhunābhūt.*

It means that the white river Gaṅgā was blackened by the wash of the collyrium from the eyes of the yavanis or the wives of the yavanas of Rādhā and Varendra when their husbands were killed in the war-field by the king Narasiṃha I.<sup>83</sup>

[From the Muslim history, namely, the *Tabākat-i-Nasiri*, it is found that in the time of Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, a ruler of Bengal, the Rāi of Jainagar (Orissa) attacked Lakṣṇāvati or the capital of Bengal in H. 642 (A.D. 1245).<sup>84</sup>] It was this king Narasiṃhadeva I who constructed the Sun-temple at Koṇārka as previously stated by us. He preserved the icons of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra in his temple as Durgā, Śiva and Jagannātha (Plate 10). The worship of Durgā with Mādhava is a unique feature in Orissan Vaiṣṇavism (Plate 9). During this period the necessity of assimilation of three cults, Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava was felt intensely.

The next battle with the Muhammedans took place in the time of Bhānudeva II (1308-1328 A.D.),<sup>85</sup> when Ghiyāsuddin sent his son Ulugh Khān to attack Telingānā in 1321 A.D.<sup>86</sup> While returning from the south he attacked



Jājñagar in 1323 A.D., and took away forty elephants from there.<sup>87\*</sup> After him, his grand-son, Bhānu III, is said to have defeated a mighty king like Firoze Tughlak of Delhi through his general Choḍa II.<sup>88</sup> In the *Pañcadhārī* inscription, we get the verse regarding Orissa's help to the Muslim king of Pāṇḍua of Bengal when he was attacked by Firoze, the king of Delhi.<sup>89</sup> It is interesting to note here that the Paṇḍās of the Jagannātha temple were the source of strength to the Gajapati kings of Orissa in their struggle with the Muslim kings of Bengal. They played an important part in this respect owing to their well-organised espionage activities, and they supplied useful information to their chiefs about the movement of the troops of Firoze and others. They went to various parts of India ostensibly as messengers of Jagannātha, and at the same time spied on the activities of the enemies. This worked well for a time, but treachery and rivalry among the Hindus destroyed their enterprise. As a result, when Firoze invaded for the second time, he became successful. One Bāli Pātra of Jājñagar made himself over to the enemy. This has been described in detail in *Pañcadhārī* inscription.<sup>90</sup>

The stable position and the sovereignty of Orissa were greatly affected by the treacherous activities of some officers under Bhānu III. The Muslims, at last, got an opportunity to enter into the very heart of Orissa to destroy Hindu Gods and their temples. Several leaves in the *Mādalapāñji*<sup>91</sup> contain nothing but the stories of raids by Yāvanas on the temple of Jagannātha. On these occasions the deities were removed to secure places. The struggle between the Hindus and the Muhammedans continued at least upto the time of the Mahrattās, who established their rule in Orissa in the 18th century A.D. This country had witnessed many ups and downs of history, but the images of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Baḷabhadra and the lofty temple withstood all the catastrophes.

The last king of the Gajapati dynasty is Nisāṅka Bhānu IV, who, according to the *Candrakalā Nālikā* of Kavirāja Viśvanātha, the well-known author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, defeated the king of Gauḍa in or about the 14th century A.D.<sup>92</sup> The verse of the above drama is quoted below :

*Ācchanne gharmadhāmni prakharahayakhura-  
kṣuṇṇapṛthivirajobhir-  
Kṣipte nakṣatralakṣe nabhasi karikarodbhūta  
Gaṅgā-payobhir-  
Jyotsnābhiḥ kīrtticandre dhalayati  
jagajjaitrayātrāvākāṣe  
Gauḍa-kṣmāpāla-lakṣmīr-vyāracayadacirā-deva  
yasyābhisāraṇ.*

\* It is important to note that during Bhanudeva II's reign the name, "Jagannath" was used for the first time in the royal inscriptions. But previously the deity was always referred to as "Purusottama" or "Purusottam-Jagannath" during the early Ganga period. A process of evolution thus emerges from this gradual change-over.



The meaning of the verse runs thus : The military expedition was organised without delay by Lakṣmī of the king Bhānu IV against the king of Gauḍa. On this occasion of his conquest the solar region (or the Sun) was concealed by the particles of dust which were stirred by the hooves of the swiftly moving steeds ; the sky was cast with myriads of stars as it were and by the jets of water of the Ganges thrown upon by the trunks of the elephants ; and, the world was brightened up by the moonlight like fame of the king. Most probably he defeated the king Jālāluddīn, who, originally a Hindu, embraced Islam and caused harassment to his Hindu subjects.<sup>93</sup>

After Bhānu IV, the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa became extinct and Kapileśvara of the Sūrya Vāmśī dynasty ascended the throne. He was a powerful monarch who protected the Brāhmanical religion in all possible ways. He claims to have defeated the contemporary Muslim king of Delhi while protecting the interests of the South Indian Hindus who were ruthlessly persecuted and harassed by the Bāhāmāni Sultans. In the Gopināthpur temple inscriptions of Kapileśvara, we get this description of his achievements. He is said to have defeated the kings of Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gauḍa etc. and crushed the pride of the king of Delhi. This is described as follows<sup>94</sup> :

*Karnāṭojjhāsa-simhakaḷavara-vijayi*

*Malavadhvāmsaśilah*

*Jaṅghālo Gauḍamarddi bhramaravarantṛpodhvas-  
tadillīndragarvāh*

Kapileśvara's inscriptions in the temple of Jagannātha show that the king treated the deity as the Supreme Lord of Orissa and himself as his representative. He used to bring to the notice of his Lord important facts relating to the administration of the kingdom.<sup>95</sup> In his 35th regnal year he prayed to Lord Jagannātha that he might be permitted to punish some of his *Samantas* or subordinate chiefs for their rebellious activities. This is recorded in an inscription on the left side of the door-frame of the temple-gate. From this we conclude that he regarded the Lord Jagannātha as the supreme ruler of the country. In another inscription he says, "Oh Lord Jagannātha ! Thou knowest everything of mine both external and internal. Whatever precious things I have, I will bestow on the Brāhmaṇas as much as I can. He, on whom thou pleassest to bestow this land, is thine."<sup>96</sup> It shows that even for granting charities he used to take permission from God Jagannātha. Not only in the affairs of administration, but also in political matters the king Kapileśvara looked upto Lord Jagannātha for all kinds of inspirations. In another inscription of the same place written in Oriya we notice the following proclamation which he made before the God :



*“Ājñā voli hoilā āmara Oḍiśa rājye yete rāja mūla,  
savuheñ rājāṅku hite prati ye āpaṇa sadācāre thive,  
Anartha āge na rahive. Rājāṅka ānahite vratiye.  
Rāja vahārakari tāhāra sarvaśva hari”<sup>97</sup>*

It means that all the kings living in the kingdom of Orissa should work for the good of the (paramount) sovereign ; should be virtuous by avoiding the evil path. If they act badly towards the sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their properties will be confiscated. This type of proclamation through inscription before a deity in a temple is quite unique in the history of India.

He was not only a powerful king but also a great patron of literature and religion. A drama, *Parasurāma Vijaya*, was composed in his name. Pandit K. N. Mohāpātra, attributes the date of composition of this drama to 1458 A.D.<sup>98</sup> Further, Pandit Mohāpātra states that the victory over the Bahamani forces at Devarkonda in 1458 A.D., is a unique achievement for Kapilendradeva, which made him the undisputed master of the whole of Telingana. This drama was written in commemoration of his great victory over the Muslim forces of the Deccan. Its five invocatory verses are dedicated to four gods and one goddess ; namely —1. Viṣṇu, 2. Puruṣottama, 3. Rukmiṇī, 4. Śrīkrṣṇa and 5. Śīva. It proves that he was not only a Vaiṣṇava but also an admirer of Śīva. The fourth verse of invocation also leads us to conclude that the Rādhā cult was not in his time popular in Orissa. We are tempted here to show how the powerful king, Kapileśvara is compared in this drama with the great epic hero, Paraśurāma, who wiped out the turbulent kṣatriyas from the world. In about 1458 A.D., he rose to the zenith of his power and prosperity. In the stone inscription of Gopinathpur of the time of Kapilendradeva, the deities of the Jagannātha temple of that village are highly spoken of. The relevant verse runs as follows :<sup>99</sup>

*Rāmañ Śrīpuruṣottamañ Bhagavatīmasmin Subhadrāñ tathā  
Ratnalaṅkṛtīrājīrādhitatanuñ bhaktyāyamasthāpayat  
Bhaktyeṣāñ tritayañ navañ trijagati cintāmaṇīnāñ trayañ  
Prāsāde ca samudgake vinihitam kiṁ madhyame piṣṭape.*

Here the deities are described as Cintāmaṇī, the wish-giving jewels. It signifies as if the temple is a casket in which the deities, as jewels are preserved.

From the above mentioned inscription we further know that even in the 15th century A.D., the goddess Subhadrā was treated as Bhagavatī Durgā. These deities were installed by the king in a temple constructed by one Gopinātha Mohāpātra, a minister of Kapileśvaradeva, who fought successfully on behalf of his



king against Gauda and other countries. In commemoration of his victory over Gauda he constructed a temple in his village which was named after him and which (village) is in the district of Cuttack. He also constructed another temple called Gundichābādi in the same village. At present these structures have disappeared and no trace of the same is left. Further in the Gopināthpur inscription, occurs the following verse :

“*Niṣṭāṅkaḥ paṅkamagnākhiladharaṇitaloddhārabhūdūrasimghaḥ  
Svacchandam mleccavarṇdam pratijagatikalerādyabhāge'pi kalki  
Bhāsvadoaṁśāvatamisastrijagadadhipateḥ Nīlaśailādhināthaḥ  
Syādeśyādoḍhradeśe samajani Kapilendrābhīdhāno narendrah.*”

The meaning of the verse is given as follows :

When the world was sinking down under mud and when a civilisation was completely vanishing through the atrocities of the *mlecchas*, the king Kapilendra-deva appeared on the scene and saved the world. He saved his country Udra, and acted like the Kalki and the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu.<sup>100</sup>

He is the first known king who recorded some gifts to the Lord Jagannātha and had some stone inscriptions on the door-frame of the ‘garbhagṛha’ in the temple. Kapilendra was thus privileged to record his activities in the shape of inscriptions in the temple, though the Gaṅga kings did not avail of any such privilege. In these Jagannātha-temple-inscriptions, Kapilendradeva used the title *Navakoṣi-Karṇāṭa-Kulavargeśvara* for his family. This title assumed by the Sūryavaṁśi Gajapatis, as shown by R. Subramanyam, appears for the first time, in the Veligalani plates of Kapilendra, dated Samvat 1380 (A.D. 1458).<sup>101</sup> According to the Śrīsaila Inscription (Telgu-Oriya) *E.I.*, XXXVI, Part II, Page 75, Kapileśvara conquered Siṁhala along with other places.

According to *Mādalāpāñji*, Kapileśvaradeva constructed the compound wall of the outer premises of the temple in his 15th regnal year. It also says that the king requested the divine Lord Jagannātha to guide him in the selection of his successor, whereupon the Lord advised him in a dream to consecrate his son Puruṣottama, born of his other queen as the *Tuvarāja* (heir-apparent). This enraged the sons born of the *Pātrāṇī* (chief queen) of the king. The story goes that they threw spears from a certain distance aiming at Puruṣottama, but their aim failed. It proved that the Lord Puruṣottama protected the *juvarāja* Puruṣottama.<sup>102</sup> Thereafter, the eighteen sons of the king left the capital and went to the south in search of kingdoms. Whatever truth there might be in this tradition, the general belief was probably that whenever a king had any difficulty

74042





in the affairs of administration or in any other matter, he used to pray for the mercy of the great Lord Jagannātha for its solution. According to the *Pāñji*, the Lord Jagannātha used to give, in every case, his verdict in dreams to those kings who sought for his judgement.<sup>103</sup> This belief satisfied the public and the chieftains (*Khaṇḍapālas* or the *Sāmantas*) and they had to accept this as final order of the supreme Lord Jagannātha. Thus, a complete harmony and tranquillity prevailed in the country through the people's belief in the Lord Jagannātha.

After Kapileśvara, Puruṣottamadeva ascended the throne. He was a great devotee of the Lord Jagannātha. It was believed that he was born in the royal family out of His mercy and was named after the Lord. People regarded him as the sole representative of the Lord Puruṣottama for which he was described as equal to the Lord in the following manner :

*Swayaṁ Puruṣottamopi Puruṣottamanayaḥ*  
*Swayaṁ Puruṣottamanayopi Puruṣottamajanakaḥ*  
*Swayaṁ Puruṣottomajanakopi Puruṣottama Sevakaḥ*

These lines describe that the name Puruṣottama was used by several kings. This name was favoured by many kings because of their love and respect for the Lord.<sup>104</sup>

Puruṣottamadeva is known as *Durgāvaraputra*. This shows that he was a follower of *Pañca devatā*. He came to the throne in A.D. 1467, and lavishly endowed charities in the shape of jewellery and land for the daily worship of the Lord Jagannātha. This is known to us from his inscriptions in the temple of Jagannātha.<sup>105</sup> In one of those inscriptions he (Puruṣottama) says, "I advise the kings of Orissa that as long as this world survives, you, the kings as well as others are to make gifts to the Brāhmanas with all respect and devotion. Brāhmanas will perform the *yajñas* and will not deceive anyone. Whoever will violate this advice, will become a rebel against Jagannātha. He is to be considered a great sinner. A great sin is equal, in effect, to all the sins. Let all bear this in mind and work and work and work."

His confidence in the Lord Jagannātha was so deep-rooted that he proclaimed that disloyalty to Jagannātha should be taken as one of the *Mahāpātakas*, (greatest sin) probably in addition to the *pañca-Mahāpātakas*, described in the Dharma Śāstras. It explains how he cherished in his mind a great belief in and devotion towards the Lord. He was not only a worshipper and a patron of gods and the Brāhmanas, but also a renowned hero. He conquered many countries in southern India and extended his empire as far as Rāmeswaram. A pillar of victory was caused to be erected by him near Vidyānagara (Vijayanagar), to which one of the copper-plate inscriptions of his son Pratāparudradeva contains a reference. This pillar



caused terror in the minds of his rivals and probably it checked them in their aggression against the Gajapati Kings. The king Puruṣottama established an *Agrahāra* (*śāsan*) in his name towards the east of Nagulapalli in Andhra Pradesh where he constructed a temple of Jagannātha. This village is on the sea-shore (vide the *Bārabāṭi Kaifayata*, Madras Local Records, Vol. VI).

A popular story, as recorded in *Mādalāpāñji*,<sup>106</sup> discloses that he conquered Kāñci and married Padmāvati, the daughter of the king of Kāñci. The story goes to say that once the king of Kāñci, while visiting Puri during the Car Festival, found the king of Orissa sweeping the precincts of the chariot. He despised the Orissan king for this menial work, and returned to his own kingdom without paying respect to the Lord Puruṣottama. The matter was duly reported to the king Puruṣottama, who grew wild and employed a huge army to march against Kāñci. He was defeated first, but in his next attempt he was helped by Lords Jagannātha and Balabhadra. The gods rode on a black and a white horse in order to assist the king. The soldiers, coming to know this, fought with great enthusiasm. The story of this expedition is depicted on the walls of the Jagannātha temple (Plate 11). This episode, depicted in the plates found in Gundica temple and in Śrīkūṛma temple regarding the divine participation in the battle field, demoralised the enemy, and the kingdom of Kāñci was easily captured. The king Puruṣottama, not only brought the princess Padmāvati as a captive, but also brought the deity of Gaṇeśa<sup>107</sup> from there who was the presiding god of Kāñci. This image of Gaṇeśa, according to a popular tradition, was installed in the Jagannātha temple and is known as Bhaṇḍa Gaṇeśa. R. Subramanyam has tried to show the authenticity of this tradition with great care.<sup>108</sup> The belief that the Lord Jagannātha and Balabhadra always helped the kings of Orissa became so strong among the Hindus that they began to consider the kings and the Lord with respect and devotion. According to Subramanyam, the Kāñci Kāverī expedition of Puruṣottama took place in A.D. 1476-77, and it was directed against the Salva Naisiṇha who was then ruling over Kāñci. The idol of Sākhigopāl was actually carried away from Rajmahendry. This tradition is still current, and the pilgrims who come from far and near show great respect to the Gajapati kings before they enter the temple for *darśana* (visit).

Puruṣottamadeva was a great patron of poets and Smṛti-writers. During his time, a Sanskrit work named *Abhinava Gitagovinda*, was composed which, according to a local tradition, was recited along with the *Gitagovinda* of the renowned poet Jayadeva, in the temple of Jagannātha.<sup>109</sup> It was said to have been opposed by some conservative disciples of the deity. The story goes that a few verses of the *Abhinava Gitagovinda* were inserted into the main *Gitagovinda* for the purpose of recitation. According to some, this was due to the instructions of the Lord Jagannātha in a dream to the king.<sup>110</sup>



The Oriya literature together with Sanskrit *kāvya*s and dramas thrived under the patronage of his father Kapilendradeva in whose time the first Oriya Mahābhārata was written by Śūdrāmuni Śāralā Dāsa. At this time several writers and poets came to prominence and they were responsible for the foundation of a new type of literature in Orissa propagating the Bhakti cult of Vaiṣṇavism. After Puruṣottama, his son Pratāparudradeva, ascended the throne. It was he who was responsible for the wide prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. During his reign Caitanya visited the country with some of his followers. According to R. Subramanyam, Caitanya came to reside at Puri in February-March, 1509 A.D., and Kāśī Mīśra was his host. Orissa proved very receptive to his teachings.

He converted many. The first to be converted was Vāsudeva Sārva-bhāuma, the great Navya Nyāya scholar, patronised by the Gajapati Pratāparudradeva. Then, Caitanya travelled to the south and met Rāī Rāmānanda on the banks of the Godāvarī in June 1509. They had long discussions. Rāmānanda was a Governor under Pratāparudra and was a reputed scholar and a religious man. The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* gives us a long account of a dialogue between them, when at the command of the master, Rāmānanda narrated the various stages of Bhakti<sup>111</sup> (*Gajapatis of Orissa*, p. 169). Pratāparudradeva embraced the new form of Vaiṣṇavism, and its doctrine was incorporated in the Cult of Puruṣottama. The vedic Brāhmanas of this country, failed to oppose this Neo-Vaiṣṇavism although they had, at first, no real sympathy for it. The interplay of different systems of Vaiṣṇavism and Tāntricism, then existing in this part of the country, actually transformed the Cult of Bhakti into an eclectic form of Vaiṣṇavism. This reform gave enough scope to the followers of Caitanya to mould the literature accordingly. The *Pañca-Sakhā* (the five associates) of Caitanya played an important part in this matter and preached this new religion in such a way that every corner in Orissa was influenced by it and the literature, nay, the social life of Orissa came completely under its spell.

The poet, Jayadeva, who lived long before Caitanya with his *Gītāgovinda* won the admiration not only of the people, but also of the Gajapati king, Pratāparudradeva. According to one of his inscriptions in the Jagannātha temple, it was strictly ordered not to sing any other song before the deities except the *Gītāgovinda*. M. N. Chakravarti, while editing this inscription translates it as follows :

“On Wednesday the 10th *tithi* of *kāṣāḍḍā*, bright half in the 9th *aṅka* of the warrior, the elephant Lord, the king over Gauda and ninety millions of Karnāṭa, and Kalabarga, the mighty Pratāparudradeva Mahārāja orders : Dancing will be performed thus at the *Bhoga* time of the elder *śhākura* Balarāma and *Gītāgovinda*



Thākura *i.e.* Jagannātha. This dancing will be held from the end of the evening *dhūpa* upto the time of *Barasiṅgār* (bed time) *dhūpa*. The batch (of dancing girls) of Baḍa Thākura, the fixed female dancers of Kapileśvara (thākur, the old batch, the Telaṅgā batch, all will learn no other song than *Gītagovinda* of Bara Thākur. They will not sing any other song. No other kind of dancing should be performed before the god. Besides the dancing, there are four Vaiṣṇava singers : they will sing only *Gītagovinda*. Hearing in one tone from them, those who are ignorant will learn the *Gītagovinda* song ; they should not learn any other song. That Superintendent who knowingly allows other songs to be sung, and other dances to be performed, rebels against Jagannātha" (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXII, 1898, pp. 96-97).

From this inscription we know that at the time of Pratāparudradeva there lived four classes of Vaiṣṇavas who performed *Nāmasaṅkīrtan* during the time of *Barasiṅgār* in the temple, while four batches of dancers and musicians performed, dance and music. These four Vaiṣṇavas essentially represented four *sampradāyas* (sects) of the Vaiṣṇavas then prevalent at Puri. Till today we find four classes of Vaiṣṇavas performing their duties in the main temple as '*Rāmānuja Panthi*,' '*Viṣṇusvāmī Panthi*,' '*Madhva Panthi*' and '*Gauḍīya Panthi*'. It further leads us to assume that Caitanya began to exercise his influence on Pratāparudradeva from 1500 A.D., which corresponds to the 4th *aṅka* (regnal year) of the king. But, in some texts it has been said that Caitanya came to Orissa in or about 1509-1510 A.D. So, the difference of ten years needs further investigation in order to fix the precise date of Caitanya's visit to Orissa.

One important fact which cannot be overlooked here is the introduction of the practice of reciting *Gītagovinda* before the deities in the main temple, and the sacramental nature of the song composed by the poet Jayadeva. Most probably, *Gītagovinda* was considered to be a work of a very high standard, and it was perhaps the reason that all Vaiṣṇavas began to respect it immensely. According to Nimbārka, Vallabhācārya, Śrī Caitanya and many other Vaiṣṇava Acāryas, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa concept was a sort of dualism referring to the Bhakta and Bhagavān *i.e.* the devotee and the god, and nothing else.

A great personality like Jagannātha Dāsa was born during this time. He composed the Oriya *Bhāgavata* to propagate the liberal Vaiṣṇavism among the people. The style which he adopted was so simple and the philosophy which he explained through his work was so universally accepted throughout Orissa that his *Bhāgavata* was daily recited and worshipped in each house. Even at present it is still continuing in almost all villages of Orissa. All these facts lead to the conclusion that the Lord Jagannātha was taken by the people as the central figure of Vaiṣṇavism. He was the pivot of that particular form of Orissan Vaiṣṇavism.



This Vaiṣṇavism is of *Jñāna-Mīśra-bhakti* School as against the *Suddhabhakti* of Gauḍīya School.

We get the imperial accounts of the Sūryavamśi Gajapati kings from the literary sources of Orissa. The *Bhakti-Bhāgavata-Mahākāvya* was written by Vyavahartu Mahāpātra Kavi ḍiṇḍima Rājārāj Rājaguru Jivadevācārya in the 16th century A.D., and is said to have been composed in the military camp of Pratāparudradeva in his 17th regnal year.<sup>112</sup>

Kapilendradeva gave charities to Brāhmaṇas and bestowed jewellery in the name of Jagannātha having obtained huge wealth through the conquest of many countries. After ruling for 32 years he expired on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. His son, Puruṣottama succeeded him. Because of his remarkable leadership and nobility the people used to regard him as the incarnation of the god Puruṣottama. He, like the god Viṣṇu, satisfied both the goddesses of wealth (Lakṣmī) and learning (Sarasvatī).

One of the inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśwara of the 10th *aṅka* of Rāghabadeva (1163-64 A.D.) records the name of one Jayadeva *Sādhu Pradhān* who lived at Kūrma Pātaka (present Śrīkūrmam). In this inscription Jayadeva stands as a witness for purchase of land made in the temple of Kṛttivāsa of a village named Bāheḍākhaṇḍa from a merchant of Dāsapur.<sup>113</sup> Pandit S. N. Rājguru, while editing this inscription<sup>114</sup> (*Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 294) suggests that the name Sādhu Pradhāna Jayadeva may be the same as the great poet Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītāgovinda*. He was living in Śrīkūrma which was a religious centre of Vaiṣṇavism of the Rāmānuja Sect. The head of the temple was, for a long time, the *guru* of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa. This suggestion may be accepted. Although no further evidence is available at present, still we can not overlook the point that the poet, Jayadeva, lived in 1163-64 A.D., which corresponds to the 10th *aṅka* year of Rāghabadeva of Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa. According to the Antargam plates (*E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 43-44), Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism was prevalent in Orissa from the time of Jaya Bhaṇja, son of Rāya Bhaṇja. It shows that the Śrī-sect of Vaiṣṇavism was popular in Orissa before Rāmānuja. The date of the plate corresponds to the 11th century A.D., and, since the importance of Śrīkūrmam began to rise from the time of Chodagaṅga as well as his father, it appears that the poet Jayadeva lived at Śrīkūrmam and was influenced by the Vaiṣṇavism of that locality. Another poet, Kavikarṇapūra also lived here. It will not be out of place to mention the writings of a poet named Umāpati, who composed the *prastāvi* section of two inscriptions, the Amareśwara (Bonī village in Śrīkākulam district) and the other Ananta Vāsudeva (Bhuvaneśwara) temple inscriptions. The dates of these two temple inscriptions are 1271 A.D. and 1278 A.D. respectively.



The study of the language of their *prastis* reminds us of the language of the *Gitagovinda*. It is not improbable that Umāpati was influenced by Jayadeva. So we can safely fix Jayadeva's date some time before the 12th century A.D. He thus lived during the time of Choḍagaṅga and his sons. From these *prastis* we get the name of Kavi Udayana as the first commentator of the *Gitagovinda*. The commentary is popularly known as the *Bhāvabibhāvinī*. Udayana seems to have been the *Prastiti*-writer of the Megheśvara temple inscription at Bhuvaneśwara dated 1182 A.D. and also of the Śobhaneśvara temple inscription of Śrī Vaidyanātha mentioned before. From these accounts it is safe for us to conclude that Jayadeva was living before the third quarter of the 12th century A.D.

According to the *Mādalāpāñji*, Kavi-Narasimhadeva gave permission for the recitation of the *Gitagovinda* for the first time in the temple of Jagannātha, (*Mādalāpāñji*, p. 37, Prāchi<sup>115</sup> Edition), Kavi-Narasimha, according to the Gaṅga inscriptions, is Narasimha II who ruled from 1278-1309 A.D.<sup>116</sup>

Jayadeva is the first known poet in Orissa who introduced the Rādhā cult in literature. Prior to him, we seldom get evidence regarding the worship of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā. As a matter of fact, Kṛṣṇa was identified with Lord Viṣṇu who underwent as many as ten incarnations such as Matsya, Kūrma and so on. Kṛṣṇa is not according to the Vaiṣṇavas, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, as he is considered equivalent to the god Viṣṇu. During this time, the Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa, while accepting this view, added one more god to their pantheon, namely Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (Plate 12). This image of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa has four arms, holding by *saṅkha*, *cakra* and *murali*. It is an image constructed in the transitional period. One beautiful image of this god is now preserved in the State Museum at Bhuvaneśwara and another is still worshipped at Jagannātha-Ballava Maṭha at Puri. This was perhaps made before Jayadeva, otherwise Kṛṣṇa would have been shown with his consort Rādhā by his side. We shall discuss this aspect in detail elsewhere. Our main object in pointing out Jayadeva's concept of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult in his *Gitagovinda* is for the sake of determining the time when the old system of Vaiṣṇavism developed into Neo-Vaiṣṇavism.\*

Jayadeva, in his invocation in *Gitagovinda*, addressed all the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu while describing Lord Kṛṣṇa as *Jagadīśa-Hare*. It means that he associated Hari with Jagadīśa who is responsible for these incarnations. The word Jagadīśa is the synonym of Jagannātha. The same title was given to Buddha by Indrabhūti in his *Jñānasiddhi*. The choice of the word "Jagannātha" by Indrabhūti and that of the word "Jagadīśa" by Jayadeva are not of accidental coincidence. This gives a clear idea regarding the conception of Jagadīśa and Jagannātha. Thus, Jagadīśa or Jagannātha is compared with Hari by Jayadeva, while the former

\* Out of the three main services rendered to the deities in the temple, i.e. Angilā, Cancu & Mahānāyaka, the Angilā Sevā or Purāṇic Sevā is most important, which includes the recitation of the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva everyday just after two principal dhūpas.



associated the same with the Buddha. Perhaps Jagannātha, the presiding deity of Orissa, came from that time onwards, to be considered as the Avatāri of the Buddha.

According to the literary tradition Jayadeva's birth place has been identified with the village Kenduli of Purī district in Orissa and he according to the Liṅgarāj Temple Inscription, has been identified with the poet Jayadeva. This village of Kenduli has been confirmed by Nārāyaṇa Das of 14th c in his *Sarbāṅgasundarī Tīkā* and Rāṇākumbha of Citor of 15th c in his *Rasikapriyā Tīkā*—both are the commentaries on the *Gītagovinda*.<sup>\*</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know the *gotra* of Jayadeva.<sup>117</sup> Śrīkākulam and particularly Śrīkūrmam happened to have been the places of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas where, according to tradition, the poets Vilvamaṅgala and Kavikarṇapura lived. Not far from Śrīkūrmam there was a centre of the Mahāyāna Buddhists at Śālihundam on the bank of the Vamśadhārā river in the Karaput district of Orissa. A large number of Mahāyāna Buddhist Monuments have been found there, and they belong to the 9th or the 10th century A.D., or even to an earlier period. Most probably, the various modifications which ultimately reoriented the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa might have taken place in that area during the time of Choḍagaṅga's conquest of Utkal and the construction of the temple of Puruṣottama.

That Śrīkūrmam was the "*Gurupīṭha*" of the Imperial Gaṅgas for a long time is proved from the visit of Narahari Tirtha in the time of Narasimhadeva as stated before. He was sent to Orissa for the propagation of the philosophy of Mādhva Sampradāya, and he exercised great influence not only in the religious sphere but also in the political field of Kalinga. Śrīkūrmam being an important seat of religion of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, it is not improbable to suggest that many rituals and systems peculiar to the locality were introduced in the temple of Jagannātha. The terminology used in the temple administration also leads us to the same conclusion. For instance, the Devadāsī system which is still in vogue in the Jagannātha temple was formerly introduced in the temple of Śrīkūrmam during the time of Vajrahasta V, the grand-father of Choḍagaṅga. Regarding the terminologies, we particularly emphasise the word "*Kuḍuā*" referring to the earthen pot filled with cooked rice for the purpose of *Bhogam* in the temple. This is obviously derived from the word "*Kuḍu*" in Dravidian language which means boiled rice. Similarly, the word "*Koilivaikuṇṭha*" which is the name of a particular part of the temple is also a Dravidian term, according to which "*Koel*" means "temple". These terms would not have been adopted in the strictly conservative atmosphere of a temple like that of Jagannātha if the customs associated with these words had not been borrowed from some religious institutions where the Dravidian people had a strong-hold. Therefore, our suggestion about the claim of Śrīkūrma Kṣetra as the

<sup>\*</sup> An attempt has also been made by some scholars to identify the birthplace of Jayadeva with the village Kandaliḥāda in the Śrīkākulam district which was donated by an early Gaṅga king named Devendra Varman of the 9th Gaṅga era in favour of some Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja gotra.



place of Vaiṣṇavite influence as well as Jayadeva's place of residence cannot be ignored.

After Pratāparudradeva, his minister Govinda Vidyādhara ascended the throne. He issued some grants in the temple of Siṃhāchalam.<sup>118</sup> M. M. Chakravarti ascribed an inscription in the Jagannātha temple of Puri to the same king ; but subsequently it was proved by Pandit S. N. Rājguru that it belonged to Cakrapratāpa, son of Govinda Vidyādhara. In this inscription in Oriya the following passage is found.

*"Jagamohana mandape Sri Jagannātha chāmure  
jaṇāile—Bho Jagannātha, toha padmapāda dekhi  
āsivā yivāre vina savuthi narka—viñjha udayagiri-  
saripariyante svadeśi paradeśi yātrimañāṅkara  
dānaprati Gadajātara rājāmana...  
Pālana karive. Ye ekathā anyathā karai se  
Śrī Jagannāthaku droha karai. Svahaste Brāhmaṇa-  
badhakarāpāpa karai."*<sup>119</sup>

Chakravarti translates the passage as follows :

"Pratāpadeva Mahārāja, in the porch and before Lord Jagannātha thus made known (His prayer) Oh Jagannātha, without going and coming to see your lotus feet all appear as hell. The gifts of pilgrims (of places) upto Vindhya and Udayagiri mountains, whether native or foreigner. The kings of Garjat will obey. He who violates this order rebels against Jagannātha and gets the sin of killing a Brāhmin with his own hands."

It shows how the kings of Orissa used to offer their deepest regards to Lord Jagannātha even at the time of discharging their duties as rulers and also while proclaiming their verdicts on subordinate chiefs as well as temple-officers.

During Govinda Vidyādhara's reign, one Raghubhañja Chhoṭarāya rebelled against him as stated in the *Mādalāpāñji*. At that time he was engaged in fighting with the Muslim ruler of Golkunda. While returning from there he endowed some charities to the temple of Siṃhāchalam in or about A.D. 1537 together with a charity during one of his *aṅka* years in between 3 and 8, (A.D. 1535-39). According to the Muslim accounts quoted by Sewell, Quliqutb Shah of Golkunda raided Orissa and defeated the Gajapati king at Rajahmundry.<sup>120</sup> It was a crucial period in the history of Orissa and her independence was threatened not only from the north-east and north by the Muslim rulers of Bengal and Delhi, but also from the South by the kings of Golkunda. But fortunately, a very able king like Mukundadeva came to the throne who not only resisted all these attacks but himself proceeded almost into the heart of Bengal.



After Pratāparudra's defeat in the hands of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāy, the king of Vijayanagar, some time after A.D. 1513, the political power of Orissa began to disintegrate. His sons, who were weak, were easily overthrown by Mukundadeva who came from the south and belonged to the family of the Eastern Chālukyas. So he was popularly known as the *Teleṅgā* Mukunda. Although political uncertainty prevailed in Orissa during his regime due to frequent raids of the Muhammedans from Bengal, he had utmost devotion for the Lord Jagannātha counting upon His mercy to face the crisis during his reign. He came to the throne in 1559 A.D. and ruled upto 1568. Being a great king and warrior, he was accepted by Akbar, the Moghul Emperor of Delhi as one of his friends.

According to the *Mādalāpāñji*, he proceeded in his 10th regnal year upto the banks of the Ganges (Hugli) and fought a successful battle with the Muhammedans of Gauḍa. Some of his feudatory chiefs, however, particularly one Rāmacandra Bhañja, started a rebellion against him. This time the Muhammedans, taking advantage of the situation, penetrated deep into the heart of Orissa. The king was absent from the capital. So a moment of confusion and anarchy prevailed and a renegade Muslim soldier, named Kālāpāhāḍa, occupied the royal fort of Bārābaṭi in Cuttack and indulged in iconoclastic activities throughout the country. He raided the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. The deities were removed to some secret place for safety before his arrival.

During the short period of his reign, Mukundadeva established some Brahmin *śāsanas* in his name, and endowed charities to the deities of Jagannātha, Śrīkūrma, and Simhāchalam.

According to another inscription in the temple of Drākṣārāma in the east Godāvarī district, Andhra Pradesh, which was engraved in Mukundadeva's 10th *aṅka* year, he endowed numerous pearls measuring to the weight of his own body to Brāhmaṇas together with the sixteen *Mahādānas* or great-charities. After his victory in Gauḍa he returned to the capital where he lavishly endowed charities and established Brāhmaṇa *agraharas* (villages). These were implemented before the Lord Jagannātha at Śrī Puruṣottama Kṣetra with a view to increasing the stock of virtues of his parents as well as himself. He was the last independent king of Orissa and his activities against the Muhammedans of Bengal were of so dynamic a nature that the Muslim kings became hostile to Orissa. Kālāpāhāḍa started an extensive campaign for a large scale destruction of the temples and deities of the Hindus. It is also said that he removed the images from the Jagannātha temple and put them into fire. This act was perpetrated soon after the death of



Mukundadeva brought about through the conspiracy of Rājā Rāmacandra Bhañja, a treacherous subordinate of Keonjhar.

After the death of Mukundadeva, his sons were ousted by Rāmacandra-deva, who belonged to a Śūdra clan according to Sirjang stone inscription of his time. It is stated that Mukundadeva's sons appealed to Akbar for the restoration of their inheritance, whereupon Rājā Mānsingh was sent to Orissa to settle the dispute between Rāmacandradeva and the heirs of Mukundadeva. Mānsingh visited Puri when the *Chandan-Yātrā* (festival) was going on. Mānsingh, when approached by the Sevakas of Jagannātha temple to decide on the rightful claimant to the throne of Orissa, gave his decision in favour of Rāmacandradeva who was then declared as the king of the country. He was a great warrior and also a devout worshipper of Jagannātha, for which reason he was compared with the god Murāri in the *Mukund Vijayi Gaṇitādarśa* alias *Svarapaddhati*, a book written in the time of Mukundadeva II. From the inscription of Kasiari it is known that he ascended the throne of Orissa in 1568 A.D. (Proceedings of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XXII, 1945, p. 87 ff.).<sup>121</sup> The *Kosalānanda Mahākāvya* also states that Rāmacandradeva saved Orissa from sinking into the ocean.<sup>122</sup>

*Mādalāpāñji* says that in the 9th year of Rāmacandradeva he brought the *Brahma* or the essential part of the deity from the fort of Kujaṅga, and performed *Vanayāga* ceremony at Khurda when the images were rebuilt.<sup>123</sup> In his 11th year on the 18th day of Kakaḍā corresponding to the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa, the deity Puruṣottama was reinstalled on the *Ratna-sinhāsana* of the main temple. It is further stated that the *Brahma* (essential part of the body of Jagannātha) was brought by one Bisar Mohanty Pura Naik. The above combination of astronomical dates corresponds to the 17th July 1575 A.D. according to Śrī Kedāranāth Mohāpātra. But a comparison with the *Indian Ephemeris* of Swami Kannupillai, Vol. V, p. 353,<sup>124</sup> shows that it is Śrāvaṇa Śukla Daśamī and not Navamī. This slight discrepancy may, however, be ignored. For the enactment of these meritorious deeds, i.e., reinstallation of the principal image in the temple which had remained vacant since the atrocities perpetrated by Kālāpāhāḍa and his Muslim followers, the king Rāmacandradeva was given the title of *Abhinava Indradyumna*, or the New Indradyumna. This is recorded in a Sanskrit drama named *Śrīkṛṣṇa Bhakta Bātsalya Caritam*.<sup>125</sup>

Chānd Kavi, an Oriya poet, in one of his unpublished manuscripts now preserved in the State Museum of Orissa describes him as :

*Navadina yātrāṣeṣe*

*Jagannivāse*

*Nilādripravese Rama mana ullāse...*

*Abhinava Indradyumna Avatārā, yuge yuge*



*rahile kirati vistarā.*

*Rāmacandranarapati durlabha kīrttiḥ etc."*

Another poet named Haladhara Miśra, who in his *Basanto-tsava Mahakavyam*, describes him as the new incarnation of Indradyumna. There it is said that at the instruction of Viṣṇu, the king Rāmacandra, took possession of the Lord's *Brahma* in a box and installed the same in the blue mountain or the main temple. Because of this he assumed the title of New Indradyumna. This title was also used by one of his successors Virakiśoredeva.<sup>126</sup> In his time Śāktism being popular in Orissa, a book named *Durgotsava Candrikā* is written in which Rāmacandradeva is described as devout worshipper of Ambikā or Durgā.

During his time Orissa completely lost her independence and the administration passed into the hands of the Moghuls. So far as the southern part of Orissa was concerned, it was under the Sultans of Bahāmani and it extended to the south of the Chilkā Lake. In such circumstance the kings of the Bhoi dynasty of Orissa came to have only a limited jurisdiction and a meagre source of income. Due to their prestige and position among the Hindus, they were called as *Thākura Rājās* of Orissa. The pilgrims who came from far and near for '*darśana*' (vision of the deity) used to visit the king first before entering into the temple. As a matter of fact the *Thākura Rājā* of Khurda became the sole custodian of the temple from the time of Akbar. Mānsingh, being a Hindu and a devout worshipper of Jagannātha, was deputed by Akbar to come to the aid of the distressed Hindus who were subjected to the atrocious deeds of Kālāpāhāda. Thus, a sort of compromise was effected, and the prestige and the position of the *Rājā* in the religious sphere remained intact.

After Rāmacandradeva, those who were associated with the affairs of Jagannātha temple were Virakiśoredeva and his queen-mother. They made some improvements in the temple; for instance, they not only constructed the *Bhoga Maṇḍapa* and *Snāna Maṇḍapa* containing the *Snāna Vedis*, but also remodelled the *Ratnavēḍī*. (vide. *Mādalāpāñji*). According to some inscriptions,\* the *Bhoga Maṇḍapa* and the *Ratna Sīmāhāsana* (the main pedestal of the images) were also constructed during that time; but according to the *Mādalāpāñji*, Virakiśoredeva's grand-mother is said to have constructed the *Nirmālya Maṇḍapa*, which was named as *Kanaka Maṇḍapa*. His chief queen (*Paṭṭamahādevī*) incurred the expenses for plastering the entire temple. The Rājā repaired the *gumōṭa* or the upper part of the *Gopura* of the northern gate and the steps of the *Snāna Vēdi*. He also endowed varieties of ornaments for the rituals of the deities.

\* The relevant inscription is in the Nāṭamandir of Jagannātha Temple. It is not yet edited.



*The temple during the Mahratta rule :*

According to the Moghul-Mahratta treaty concluded between the Nawab Aliverdi Khān of Bengal and Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur, Orissa came under the Mahratta domination during the time of Virakiśoradeva, (1737-1793 A.D.).<sup>127</sup> He accepted the suzerainty of the Mahrattas like the other chiefs of Orissa. During their regime the temple of Jagannātha was freed from desecration and depredation it had to undergo during the Muslim rule which lasted for about two centuries. The Mahrattas themselves being staunch Hindus and devotees of Jagannātha, encouraged His worship, got the ceremonies and festivals properly observed and introduced new kinds of oblations.<sup>128</sup> In 1755 A.D. they provided annual grants from the state revenue through an endowment in the form of an estate known as Sātais Hāzāri Mahāl, yielding an annual income of Rs. 27,000/- for the maintenance of the temple. They also made grants of land for some of the Mathas of Puri, and made good the deficit between the income and expenditure of the temple.<sup>129</sup> The Mahrattas also built some new structures in the premises of the temple of Jagannātha. They brought the stones from the broken temple of Konārka to build some portions of the *Bhoga Maṇḍapa* of Jagannātha and they set the triangular stone pieces brought from the same place for the outer compound wall of the temple. They also brought the Aruṇa pillar from Konārka and placed it in front of the Puri temple.<sup>130</sup>

The Rājā of Khurda was a representative of the Mahratta Government, and his authority in the temple was very limited.<sup>131</sup> The Mahrattas retained the pilgrims tax which yielded nearly 9 lakhs of rupees annually.<sup>132</sup> Thus, in the words of Hunter, the pilgrims were made to pay for the state liberality to their god. It appears from the correspondence made by the Collector of Jagannātha with one Secretary to the Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack regarding complaints against the *Praharees* of the temple that there were three *Parichās*, viz. Sewajee Pandit, Jagannāth Rājguru and Amna Pandit, whose sole duty was to take care of the interior management of the temple. Any complaint against them was made to Ekāḍee Pandit at Cuttack, whose decision was final. This shows that the Mahratta Government appointed three Pandits to run the day-to-day administration of the temple, and the final authority was Ekāḍee Pandit at Cuttack who was controlling the affairs of the temple through these three Pandits.<sup>133</sup>

*The Temple during the British Rule :*

In 1803 the British occupied Orissa. The English army under Colonel Harcourt took possession of the Puri town and the temple of Jagannātha without any opposition. This was on the 18th of September, 1803.<sup>134</sup> Lord Wellesley had issued instructions to Col. Campbell, the Officer Commanding of the British troops



in Orissa, that on his arrival at Puri, he should take every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda and to the religious beliefs of the Brāhmanas and the pilgrims. He should also assure the priests that they would not be required to pay any revenue or tribute to the British Government which they had been paying to the Mahrattas and they would be duly protected in the exercise of their religious duties. At the same time he was not required to contract any engagement with the priests which might limit the power of the British Government to make "such arrangement in respect of the shrine as might be necessary in future." When the British army entered Puri, they took the temple under their own protection and some Hindu Sepoys were left in charge of it.<sup>135</sup> The Puri district Gazetteer records that during the first few years, the British followed the system of the temple-administration laid down by the Mahrattas. It also appears that they used to make up the difference between the receipts and the expenditure of the temple directly.<sup>136</sup> "The total average income per year from various sources taking into consideration the total amount received during six years, prior to the report, was Rs. 31,884-12 annas and 13 *gaṇḍās*, and the average expenses per year was Rs. 65,995-4 annas and 9 *gaṇḍās*."

From the very beginning of the British administration, a *Parichā* was kept in charge of the management of the temple, and in 1805 the Collector was authorised to receive applications from the *Parichā* in connection with the administration of the temple. Meanwhile, the Christian Missionaries bitterly criticised<sup>137</sup> the Government for taking interest in the temple of Jagannātha. The Government, therefore, decided to give up the thorough supervision of the idolatrous rites in the temple. By the Regulation IV of 1806 the Superintendence was transferred to an assembly of 3 Pandits nominated by the Collector of Pilgrims taxes and appointed by the Government. The Pilgrims tax, which was temporarily suspended in 1803, was reimposed in 1806, and a Collector of Pilgrims tax was appointed by the Government. For the purpose of levying pilgrims tax, a classification of pilgrims into three categories was made. Under the British administration the temple annually contributed to the State revenue an amount varying from half to one lakh of rupees.

By the Regulation IV of 1809, the Assembly of Pandits was abolished and management of the temple was transferred to the Rājā of Khurda. He was taken as hereditary Superintendent. The Rājā who was not granted supreme authority, was assisted by three principal servants of the temple. Rājā Mukundadeva II of Khurda, who had been taken prisoner due to a rebellion in 1804, was entrusted with the management of the temple after his release. It was made a condition that the Government grant of Rs. 55,000 should be spent on the maintenance of the temple.<sup>138</sup> He was also granted a "*Mālikāna*" of Rs. 2,333 per month and



ordered to stay at Puri. During the superintendentship of his son, Rāmacandra-deva (1817-54), the site of the Rājā Nahar (Palace) was shifted from Bālisāhi to Baḍadāṇḍa.<sup>139</sup>

The Pilgrims tax yielding a net amount of £5955 was considered by the East India Company as a State sanction to idolatry. The Company, therefore, abolished the Pilgrims tax and vested the Rājā of Puri with full authority in regard to the management of the temple and its properties by Act X of 1840. The temple authorities were forbidden to impose any restriction on the pilgrims for admission into the temple. "The right of free admission and free worship became a recognised privilege of the general body of the pilgrims."<sup>140</sup> Though the Government gave up all connections with the temple, yet to honour the pledges made in regard to the protection of the temple, it did not interfere with the previous grants and moreover continued to make an annual payment of Rs. 53,000 towards the expenditure of the temple.

In 1843, the Sātāisi Hazāri Mahāl, yielding an annual rental income of Rs. 17,420, having been made over to the Rājā, the annual grant was reduced to Rs. 35,738. In 1845, it was further reduced to Rs. 23,321 because of some grants made by the Rājā of Berar for the temple. In 1856, the above amount was further reduced to Rs. 7,000 to meet the expenses of a police establishment towards the protection of the pilgrims. But, subsequently the Government decided to pay Rs. 6,804 to the Superintendent who would make his own arrangements for the maintenance of peace and order inside the temple. In 1858, the Government decided to discontinue these payments and to transfer to the Rājā the Ekrājāt Mahāl in lieu thereof.<sup>141</sup> The Rājā was to possess the transferred lands as jamindar or trustee hereditarily. In 1863, certain lands yielding equivalent amount was transferred to the Rājā. As provided in the deeds of transfer, the Government thereafter ceased to have any connection with the management of the temple.

Meanwhile, on the death of Rājā Virakishoredeva, the management of the temple fell on his widow, Suryamaṇi Paṭṭamahādevi, during the minority of her adopted son, Dibyasīmha-deva. This was a period of growing mismanagement and the situation had become tense in 1878 when Rājā Dibyasīmha was convicted on a charge of murder and was sentenced to transportation for life. This created a very anomalous position in-as-much as under Act X of 1840 the Superintendence of the temple was vested in the Rājā even after his transportation and there was no provision in the act for any succession to the post of Superintendent. In 1884, on the application of Suryamaṇi Paṭṭamahādevi, the grand-mother and guardian of the minor Mukundadeva, the title of Rājā was conferred on the young prince. It was thought that the said title was necessary to enable him to be the Sevaka Rājā of the



Jagannātha temple.<sup>142</sup> In order to honour the public interest and to ensure better management of the temple, the Government instituted a suit in 1885 for a declaration that the office of the Superintendent was vacant, and that new trustees should be appointed and a scheme of management should be worked-out. The suit was hotly contested, and a cry that religion was in danger was raised in the press. During the pendency of appeal preferred to by Suryamañi in the High Court of Calcutta there was a compromise in 1888 which, *inter alia*, provided that, during the minority of the Rājā, his grand-mother would manage the affairs as his guardian with the assistance of a Manager.

As Rājā Mukundadeva, after the attainment of his maturity, took little interest in the affairs of the temple, mismanagement continued there for some time. In the circumstances the Superintendent was compelled to appoint a Government Officer as Manager. Accordingly in 1902, Rai Bahādur Rājakiśore Das, a Deputy Magistrate, became the first Manager of the temple. Rājā Mukundadeva had adopted Rāmacandradeva from the Rāj family of Bamra State; but subsequently repudiated his adoption. Thereupon, Rāmacandradeva filed a suit for declaration of his adoption and obtained a decree in his favour which was confirmed by the Patna High Court. On the death of Rājā Mukundadeva, Rāmacandradeva took charge of the temple as the Superintendent. The present Rājā is the son and successor of Rājā Rāmacandradeva. After the passing of the Temple Act of 1952 by the Orissa State Assembly, the temple is now being managed by a Board of Trustees in which the present Rājā Virakiśoredeva is a member.

#### REFERENCES

1. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, p. 413.
2. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi and some other scholars suggest that he is to be taken as Yayāti I. *Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and the Somavamśis of Orissa*, p. 2. Dr. D. C. Sircar seems to suggest that he is Yayāti the III—*Struggle for Empire*, Vols. IV & V, p. 209.
3. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, pp. 402-405 and *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II (1916), pp. 45-55.
4. *The Mādalāpāñjī*, Oriya edition of the Prachi Samiti 1940, p. 5.
5. *Ibid.* p. 5 and *Jagannātha Kayfyat in Sanskrit*, p. 2 (unpublished MSS.)
6. *E. I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 63-64, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV,
- 6a. pp. 55 and 82 *Palaeography of India*, G. S. H. Ojha, p. 88.
7. *Mādalāpāñjī*, Prachi—p. 4.
8. *Ibid.* p. 6 and *Jagannātha Kayfyat* (in Sanskrit) p. 2, unpublished manuscripts.
9. *An Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, pp. 67-68. *Mādalāpāñjī*, p. 5. Prachi edition.
10. *Hunter's Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 206-32.
11. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 109 by R. D. Banerjee.
12. *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 238 ff.
13. *Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and Somavamśi kings of Orissa*, p. 37.
14. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 211-12 and *J.A.S.B.*, LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 229.



15. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 62, by S. N. Rajaguru.
16. *Dasgoba and Nagari Copper Plates*, *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 55.
17. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, pp. 55-56, No. 1.
18. *Mādalāpāñji*, Prachi edition in Oriya, p. 33.
19. *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 110, R. L. Mitra.
20. *Gaṅgavaṇḍānucaritam*, Chap. VIII, Śloka 32, unpublished palm leaf pothi.
21. *The Mādalāpāñji* (Oriya—The Prachi edition), pp. 27-35 ff.
22. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 59 and J. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 32.
23. Dr. D. C. Sircar also maintains the view. *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, 1949-50.
24. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Pt. ii, p. 396 f., by S. N. Rajaguru.
25. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 171-175.
- 25a. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41.
- 25b. *The Bārhaspatyasūtram*, Ch. III, p. 20, Sutras 119 & 120.
- 25c. *Ibid.* Introductory remarks, p. 8; F.W. Thomas guesses the date to be 12th century A.D.
26. *I.H.Q.* Vol. VI, pp. 141-142.
27. *Dynasties of medieval Orissa*, p. 18, by B. Misra.
28. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, p. 558 and Revised edition Vol. XIII, *J.A.S.B.* letters No. 1947. P. Acharya.
29. On palaeographic ground it can be referred to the 8th century A.D. says Dr. H. C. Ray in his *D.H.N.I.*, p. 414 ff.
30. *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 1, pp. 1-6. Dr. R. D. Banerjee attributed the date of this grant of the 8th century A.D.
31. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 449 by Dr. Dasgupta and S. K. De. D. C. Sircar however takes the date to be 11th-12th century A.D. (Vide *E.I.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 184, Footnote.
32. *Anarṅga Rāghava Nāṭakam Act—I*, p. 8 published in Nirṇaya Sagara Press.
33. *Prabodha Chandrodaya Nāṭakam* published by the Nirṇaya Sagara Press—Act—IIInd, pp. 78-79.
34. *Report on the Search of Sanskrit manuscript* (1906-1911) by H.P. Sastri, p. 3.
35. *Paratrishika, Laghuṣṭiti and Viṣṭiti*, The Kashmir Series of texts and studies Nos. 68, 69.
36. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, 1954, No. 1, p. 12.
37. *The Pujāripali Inscription of Gopāl Deba*, *Mohākosal Historical Society's Paper*, Vol. II, p. 68.
38. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 15.
39. *Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Kalinga* by M. M. Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, 1903, Page III.
40. *Kielhorn E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 180.
41. *Tirtha Khaṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataṛu G.O. Series XCVIII*, p. 235.
42. *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 330.
43. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, p. 16 and *Orissa and her remains*, p. 403, by M. M. Ganguli.
44. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 23 and *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 372-73.
45. There is another 64 Yoginipitha at Rāṇipur Jharial of Balangir District of Orissa.
46. *Dhenkanal Plate of Tribhuvan Mahādevi—J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II (1916), Plate IV, p. 422.
47. The depiction of these three symbols or figures may also be interpreted as three pieces of logs (*Dāru*) taken on the bullock cart or they may be described in the *Mādalāpāñji*, the three images taken by the temple priests to a secured place at Sonepur where the Javana King, Raktabāhu invaded Puri 146 years before the reign of Jajāti Kesari.
48. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 68-69.
49. In the copper plate inscription of Prabhañjan Varman of the Mādhara dynasty (6th century A.D.) we find that he granted lands to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of Kārtika Śukla Dvādaśī which is the Utthāna Dvādaśī (Viṣṇu rising from sleep) *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I. by S. N. Rajaguru.
50. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 62.



51. One Prolācāri was appointed in the temple of Mukhalīṅgam as religious Superintendent for recording the charities made to the temple. The inscription is dated Śakābda 1030 or 1108 A.D. in the time of Choḍagaṅga *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part 1, p. 56. The title *Achāri* is generally used by the priests of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Section.
52. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44-47.
53. Rāmānuja philosophy and various teachers and Totadrinath's Guru-Paramparā *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* by H. P. Sastri, No. 115, p. 87.
54. H. C. Raychoudhury's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 179.
55. *Mahāvamśa*, Ch. 59, V. 46.
56. *Ibid*, Ch. 90, Verses 32-33.
57. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 59, by S. N. Rajaguru.
58. We like to invite the attention of the readers to a passage found in the Narsingapalli plates of Hastivarman where a donation was made to the God Nārāyaṇa who is addressed as Saptalokaikanātha *Inscription of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 15, by S. N. Rajaguru.
59. N. G. M's *Inscription of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 20. The word *Vāk-brahma* being a synonym of *Nāḍabrahma* may be taken as *Omkāra* which was then considered as a symbol of God *Puruṣottama*.
60. Garteśwara Temple Inscription of the time of Choḍagaṅga. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44-48.
61. *S...*, Vol. V, No. 1283, and *O.H.R.Ṣ.*, Vol. V, p. 66.
62. *O.H.R.Ṣ.*, Vol. V, p. 63.
63. *E...*, Vol. XXIX, p. 127.
64. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 762-763, and *O.H.R.Ṣ.*, Vol. V, p. 70.
65. Nāgari Copper Plate of Anangabhīma Deva, *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-245 and *Indo-Aryan Culture*, Vol. II, 1953, pp. 120-21.
66. *Mādalāpāñji*, p. 34.
67. *Ibid*.
68. *O.H.R.Ṣ.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 66-67.
69. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 588-589.
70. *Ibid*.
71. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1329, p. 467.
72. The temple which was constructed by Anangabhīma Deva III according to his Nāgari Plates is not existing today. We believe that it was demolished by the Muslims when they captured the town towards the 16th century A.D. Most probably the temple was located near the present Tulsiapur area of Cuttack town which is still known as Dewal-Sahi or the temple street.
73. The *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 32-33.
74. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 72.
75. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part 1, p. 137, by S. N. Rajaguru.
76. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 127-131 and *O.H.R.Ṣ.*, Vol. V, pp. 66-67 ff.
77. *E.I.*, Vol. VI, p. 262.
78. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and minor religious system*, p. 82.
79. The worship of Rāma by the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga is proved by their family God Rāmaśvāmī who was installed in their dwelling place. The remnant of this old system is still prevalent in the Rāj family of Paralakhimundi (Ganjam District) which is descended from the Gaṅgas. In almost all the earlier temples we find the true images of Rāma and Sitā. This shows that Rāma Cult was popular in Orissa in earlier times.
80. *O.H.R.Ṣ.*, Vol. V, No. i, p. 67 ff.
81. *O.H.R.Ṣ.*, Vol. I, pp. 278-288 ff.

82. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 29 ff (Verse 71).
83. *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, p. 136.
84. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 762-63 ff.
85. *Elliot's History of India*, Vol. III, p. 234.
86. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. I, p. 73.
87. *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 155-57.
88. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. I, p. 77.
89. *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 159-60.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 52, 55, 61-62.
92. The 1st Āṅka of the *Chandrakalā Nāṭikā*, Prastāvanā śloka, p. 2. Edited by S. N. Rajguru and Sarbeśvara Dās. Published by the Orissa State Museum.
93. For other details regarding Jālāluddīn, please see R. C. Majumdar's *History of Bengal*. Dr. D. R. Subramanyam's *The Śūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa*, pp. 34-35. According to Subramanyam, his first attack was against the rulers of Bengal—His book p. 35.
94. *J.A.S.B.*, (1900), Vol. LXIX, pp. 178-88 and *Utkal Sāhitya*, Ch. XXI, No. 9.
95. *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, pp. 100-103.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Paraśurāma-vijaya Nāṭakam*—Pandit K. N. Mahāpātra attributes this *Nāṭakam* to 1458 A.D. (A descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa, Vol. II, published by Orissa Sahitya Akademy—Introduction, p. XC).
99. Gopinathpur Temple Inscription of the time of Kapilendradeva.
100. *Ibid*, Verse IV.
101. R. Subramanyam "The Śūrya Vamśi Gajapatis of Orissa", p. 176.
102. *Mādalāpāñji*, p. 44.
103. *Ibid*, pp. 48-49.
104. *Sarasvatī Vilāsa*. Quoted in the *Utkala Sāhitya Magazine* 1931 Issue.
105. *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, Vol. LXII, pp. 91-98.
106. *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 50-51.
107. From iconographical studies we should put this Gaṇeśa in the Tāntric Pantheism as the tip of its trunk touches a female organ which was only akin to the Tāntric cult.
108. According to Dr. R. Subramanyam, the Kāñchi-Kāverī expedition of Puruṣottama took place in 1476 A.D. *The Śūrya Vamśi Gajapatis of Orissa*, p. 85.
109. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. VII, p. 203.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *The Śūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa*, p. 169.
112. *Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvyaṃ*, last canto, verses No. 11-12.
113. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 179-82.
114. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 294, by S. N. Rajaguru.
115. *Mādalāpāñji*, p. 37. The passage "Gīta Govinda Selaukale" is to be explained. The word "Selau" is decidedly borrowed from the Telegu language which means permitting. The editor of the *Mādalāpāñji* has wrongly interpreted the word "Selaukale" for Sūbhade i.e. introduced or began.
116. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V.
117. *Ins. of Or.* Vol. II.
118. See *Madras Archaeological Reports* 1899, Nos. 247a, 297a, 274a, 266a, 266b, 296q.



119. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, pp. 212-223.
120. *Historical Inscriptions of South India*. p. 248.
121. *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Record Commission*, Vol. XXII, 1945. p. 87.
122. Kosalānanda Mahākāvyaṛp, Ch. XVII (unpublished)—Preserved in the Orissa State Museum. Bhubaneśwar.
123. *Mādalāpāñji*, p. 63. *Jagannātha Kaiḥyat MSS and Chayani Chakaḍā* p. 7.
124. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 353.
125. Śrīkṛṣṇa Bhakta Bachala Caritaṃ (unpublished)—Preserved in State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
126. V. Rangachary's *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 696.
127. Dr. H. K. Mahatab—*History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 468.
128. *History of Poori* by Brijkishore Ghose, 1848.
129. Reports of the Special Officer under Śrī Jagannātha Temple Act. p. 15, Dr. H. K. Mahatab
130. K. S. Mishra, *Utkala Itihāsa*, pp. 284-85.
131. Report of the Special Officer under Śrī Jagannātha Temple Act. p. 15.
132. K. S. Mishra's *Utkala Itihāsa*, p. 284.
133. List of correspondence preserved by Board of Revenue—Government of Orissa, Part I, Vol. II, p. 122.
134. Marquis of Wellislay's despatches, *Calcutta Review*, 1868. Vol. X, p. 238.
135. Dr. H. K. Mahatab's *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 432.
136. *Puri* by C. M. Ācārya, p. 34.
137. *Orissa and its Evangelists* 1815, p. 69 and W. J. Lawries *Orissa the garden of superstition and Idolatry*.
138. *Puri District Gazetteer*, 1881, p. 55.
139. Reports of the Special Officer under Śrī Jagannātha Temple Act. p. 20.
140. *Ibid.* p. 21.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *Puri* by C. M. Ācārya, pp. 37-38.

### CHAPTER III

## JAGANNĀTHA IN TRADITION

To determine the antiquity of Jagannātha is a difficult task. Legend and tradition throw some light on the problem, but a critical examination of the evidences furnished by them is essential for any reasonable hypothesis to be made on their basis. It is necessary to turn to Sanskrit texts both Vedic and Purāṇic for the purpose.

In the Ṛgveda we find a reference to *Dāru* in the *Sūkta* which runs thus "*Ado yaddāru plavate sindhoḥ pāre apūruṣam, tadā rabhasva durhaṇo tena gaccha parastaram.*"<sup>1</sup> Sāyanācārya, (1300-1380 A.D.) interpreted this *sūkta* in the following manner. "There exists on sea-shore in a far off place the image of a deity of the name *Puruṣottama* which is made of wood floating as it were, in the sea. O ye, by worshipping that wood indestructable, attain the supreme place of the *Vaiṣṇavite*."<sup>2</sup>

But after his own interpretation, he casually mentions another interpretation which was prevalent at that time, but which was perhaps considered by him as unsatisfactory.

The second interpretation means that the evil spirit is asked to use the *Dāru* (wood) as boat for crossing the sea and going over to the far off island.<sup>3</sup> This verse also occurs in the *Atharva Veda* with a slight variation.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to treat this repetition of the same verse in the *two vedas* as unmeaning. This may lead some to suppose that the worship of the deity *Puruṣottama* or *Dārubrahma* might have been in vogue even in the remote past; but the supposition on the basis of this single verse of cryptic nature may not be universally accepted.

P. V. Kane does not accept Sāyaṇa's interpretation. He is of opinion that the second interpretation fits more with the context. However, when he wrote this he was not aware of the *Atharva Veda* extract. An acquaintance with the latter might have led him to accept Sāyaṇa's interpretation.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of Sāyaṇa the popularity of *Dārubrahma* conception in Utkal was great, and the wooden image of *Puruṣottama* singularly attracted the



attention of Vedic and other scholars in India. This might have influenced him to suggest the above explanation. In *Puruṣottama tattva* (*Jiv.* Vol. II, p. 563), Raghunandana explains the same verse from both *Ṛgveda* and *Atharva-Veda* with reference to *Puruṣottama-Jagannātha* of Puri.

According to Sāyaṇa, there are three *sūktas* in the *Ṛgveda*<sup>6</sup> which suggest that *Dāru* was regarded as the symbol of *Brahman*. The immutable aspect of *Brahman* as different from the mutable aspect is compared with a tree containing many branches which in its aspect of unity is the absolute, the motionless and the eternal one (*Vṛkṣa eva divitiṣṭatyeka*)<sup>7</sup>. In these *sūktas* the seer enquires "what can be that tree and what can be that forest in which it stands out and out of which the earth and heaven came to be designed by the gods." Sāyaṇa after reading three *Sūktas* together makes a very significant suggestion at the end. That the tree, which is most ancient and imperishable is *Brahman* himself. On the basis of this conception of Sāyaṇa, *Brahman* can be symbolised as a tree and the *praṇava* is the symbol of *Brahman*. The four *mātrās* of *Praṇava* may correspond to the four *pādas* of *Brahman*, and the four forms were carved (not five) nor (or three) to translate *Brahman* worship into *praṇava* worship. This *praṇava* worship later took the t̃ntric form and subsequently the paurāṇic form; and in this way the worship of *Dāru Brahman* and *Praṇava* have been transformed into the worship of Balabhadra, Subhadra, Jagannātha and Sudarśana. All this must be understood to constitute the basic tradition of Jagannātha worship as is current up to the modern times.

There is little wonder, therefore, that the trees which are very ancient and very large in dimension came to be venerated by people as divinities. Even today in rural India, trees such as Banyan, Vilva etc. are worshipped as gods. There seems to have been, therefore, very ancient connection between *Dāru* and god. There is also evidence of *Dāru* worship in the *Bhagavat Gītā*.<sup>9</sup>

It may tempt someone to trace the beginning of the worship of the *Dāru-Brahma* so vividly present in the worship of *Puruṣottama-Jagannātha* at Puri to the vedic concept as interpreted by Sāyaṇa. It is a fact that the priests of the Puri temple in the daily worship of the composite deity do emphasise this supposed Vedic connection.

When we come to the age of the *Upaniṣads* we find some reference to the description of *Puruṣa* as the creator of the universe. The *Dāru Upāsanā* was moulded gradually into image or *Puruṣa-upāsanā*. Various conceptions of *Puruṣa* as described in them are the special features of the *Upaniṣads*. The *Svetāśvetara Upaniṣad*<sup>10</sup> and the *Kāivalya Upaniṣad*<sup>11</sup> describe *Puruṣa* as one who possesses neither hands nor legs, who has no eyes but sees everything, no ears but hears all



and who though unknowable knows everything. This description of *Puruṣa* serves as the basis of the peculiar form of *Puruṣottama* and His associates.

Valmiki mentions Jagannātha in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* where-in Rāma is described as exhorting Vibhīṣaṇa to devote himself to the worship of Jagannātha, the family deity of the Ikshvāku Vamśa<sup>12</sup> (solar dynasty). It is astonishing that there is actually a ritual, even today in the temple of Lord Jagannātha called *Vibhīṣaṇa Bandāpanā*. Scholars, however, are of opinion that the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the composition of a much later date and that there have been lots of interpolations in the text.<sup>13</sup> But, there are references to the names of the deities in the *Kiskindakāṇḍa* which may not be regarded as a later insertion.<sup>14</sup> The monkey lord Sugrīva, sends four groups of searchers in four directions to find Sitādevī. One of these groups is ordered to proceed to the eastern direction upto the Meru-Mountain. Sugrīva gives a graphic description of the famous places which may serve as milestones to the searchers. Pandit Vināyak Mishra finds mention in the epic of the description of various sites and shrines of the Puri Temple as well as the several deities worshipped there.<sup>15</sup> But, the passages (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 40, 42-61) do not expressly justify this assumption, simply because the name of Ananta (Balabhadra?), *Puruṣottama*, *Sudarśana* (here named as an island) and the *Vedi* (*Ratnavedi*?) are mentioned.

Tradition has associated the worship of the deity *Puruṣottama* with the name of *Indradyumna*. In the *Mahābhārata* we find mention of a legendary king named *Indradyumna*.<sup>16</sup> The king has been described there as one who performed a thousand sacrifices. It is said there that the cows brought for the sacrifices made a pond with their hooves, which was named after the king. The epic story of *Indradyumna* and the tank named after him, appear to have helped to develop the traditional association of king *Indradyumna* and *Indradyumna Sarovara* with *Puruṣottama Jagannātha*. In the *Mahābhārata* (III, 114/22ff) we find mention of *Vedi*<sup>17</sup> which is identified by some with *Antarvedi* where Lord *Jagannātha* is enshrined. Manamohan Ganguli and other scholars like late Pandit Sadasiva Mishra were inclined to believe that this *Vedi* of the *Mahābhārata* is the same as the *Antarvedi*, mentioned in the *Skanda purāṇa*, which was the place of worship of Lord *Jagannātha*.<sup>18</sup> There is another reference to *Vedi* in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (II, 6, 4, 3) which runs thus:<sup>19</sup> “*Iyam Vedīḥ Paro antaḥ prithivyā ayam yajño bhuvansya nābhiḥ. Prthivyāḥ pradhānabatyāḥ bhūmyāḥ paroṇtaḥ paramanta parjyavasam iyam vedīḥ nahi vejyāttrikta bhūmirasti.*” It means that this altar is the end and the last point of the Goddess Earth : this is the important part or the personification of sacrifice—*yajña*. This is the navel portion of the centre of the Earth. There is no earth beyond this *vedi*. One will be very much tempted to identify this *vedi* of the



*Upaniṣad* with the *Ratnavedī* of Jagannātha to establish the antiquity of the temple and the place ; but it is very difficult to connect this *vedī* and the *vedī*, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, with the *Ratnavedī* of Lord Jagannātha for want of sufficient materials.

It is now relevant to mention here the meanings of the word *Antarvedī* as given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (Ch. I, p. 3)<sup>20</sup>. It refers to the place where the worshipping of god at the time of sacrifice is made. (*Yajñeṣu devayajanam-antarvedī prakṛtitaḥ*). Although, there seems to be no historical basis for identifying 'vedī' of the *Mahābhārata* with the place of worship of Lord Jagannātha, it is probable that the *Skanda Purāṇa* referred to 'Antarvedī' on the basis of the tradition that the temple of Jagannātha had been constructed after the performance of the sacrifice by Indradyumna.

We, however, find a reference in the *Śānti Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* regarding the religion of Jagannātha which reads thus :<sup>21</sup>

“Nāradena tu samprāptaḥ sarahasyaḥ saśaṁgrahaḥ  
Eṣodharṁ Jagannāthāt sākṣāt nārāyaṇāt nrpaḥ  
Evameṣa mahāndharmaḥ sate purvaṁ potama  
Kathito harigītāṣu samasā-vidhi kalpitāḥ.”

Pandit Nilakantha Dās while interpreting the verses is inclined to connect the Nārāyaṇīya story and the religion with the Jagannātha cult. According to him, “Nārāda and Nārāyaṇa story was propounded just in the *paurāṇic* way, and it is said in the same Nārāyaṇīya story itself that this religion was obtained in revelation from Jagannātha who is Nārāyaṇa in person. This was revealed to Nārāda with all its mysteries and practices. It is further said that it is the religion (*Dharma*) that had been narrated briefly and systematically in the *Hari Gīta* (the *Bhagavat Gīta*). The name Jagannātha was there in the Kālīṅga Coast from the *Rgvedic* times along with the name of Puruṣottama. The reference to this Jagannātha, as I have said is distinctly made in Nārāyaṇīya story, time after time to indicate the Supreme God.” The above view of this scholar can not be easily treated as sufficient evidence for the existence of the cult of Jagannātha even in the *Mahābhārata* period, but these references give sufficient clue which throws some light on the antiquity of Jagannātha.

We may now turn to references about *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* and Jagannātha in the *Purāṇas*. The *Matsya Purāṇa*,<sup>22</sup> which is considered as one of the oldest of the *Purāṇas* mentions *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* in two places. But, it contains no reference to the deity Jagannātha or the king Indradyumna. It mentions only the deity Vimalā in *Puruṣottama Kṣetra*. Among the later *Purāṇas*, namely *Viṣṇu*,



*Agni, Padma, Narada, Brahma* and *Skanda*, we get more references to Jagannātha, the deity and the place of his installation.<sup>23</sup> But, it is only in the *Agni, Padma, Brahma* and the *Skanda Purāṇas*<sup>24</sup> there occur passages about the sanctity of the place, construction of the temple and the part played by Indradyumna.<sup>25</sup>

The *Agni Purāṇa* (in its chapter on the enshrinement of Sudarśanacakra etc. (Ch. 63), appears to mention the figures of Viṣṇu, Balabhadra and Bhadrā (Subhadrā) along with those of Sudarśana (*cakra*), Pāñcājanya (*śaṅkha*), Śrī Puṣṭi, and others. The *Nilādrimahodaya* enumerates the seven-fold images of Puruṣottama Jagannātha as Śrī, (Puṣṭi ?), Bhū, Mādhava, Cakra, Cakrī, Avānībhṛt (Ananta-Balabhadra), Bhadrā (Subhadrā), and the close coincidence between these two texts seems to indicate that the Purāṇic author has in his mind the installation of the images in the Puri Temple when he writes this.

The story as given in the *Padma Purāṇa* in connection with the sanctity of the place of worship of Puruṣottama and the magnitude of his glory may now be noted. References to Lord Puruṣottama at the Nilagiri are made in the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* of *Padma Purāṇa* without any allusion to the story of Indradyumna. The account in the *Padma Purāṇa* runs thus :—<sup>26</sup>

Śatrughna, who kept guard of the sacrificial horse of Rāmacandra, came to Nilagiri which was situated at the *Puruṣottama Kṣetra*. This place was beyond the confluence of the Gaṅgāsāgara. Śatrughna was told by one Sumati that Lord Puruṣottama was being worshipped at the sacred Nilagiri. Sumati added—"one day a Brāhmin who came there on a pilgrimage found all the beings with four hands and asked for the reason. The villagers present, narrated a story—one day a boy named Pṛthuka ascended the hill-top and observed a wonderful temple. He entered into it and found the four-armed Hari holding the conch, the discus, the club and the lotus in His four hands. The offerings made by the gods were scattered all around. As soon as Pṛthuka picked up a little grain, he turned to a four-armed being. The other villagers followed him and they also became four-armed. Hearing of this, the Brahmin bathed in the confluence of the Gaṅgāsāgara and visited Lord Puruṣottama at Nilagiri. He too became four-armed." This Brāhmin was seen by Ratnagrīva, a pious king of Kāñchī, first in a dream and then in his court. An enquiry about his four arms led the Brāhmin to narrate before Ratnagrīva the story of the greatness of Puruṣottama as he had heard of it from the Śābaras. Ratnagrīva was then inspired and set out with his forces on a pilgrimage to Nilagiri. To his despair, Nilagiri was not visible when Ratnagrīva looked at it after a bath in the Gaṅgāsāgara confluence. In deep regret the king kept on meditating upon Hari who appeared after five days in the guise of a monk. The king fell prostrate at the feet of the monk who graciously



declared that the four-armed blue Lord would be visible the following day at noon. The king waited patiently till he had the sight of Lord Puruṣottama on the Blue Mountain. He then made his way to Vaikuṇṭha."

The *Brahma Purāṇa* mentions the tradition of Jagannātha in the following way :<sup>27</sup> King Indradyumna arrived at *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* and made the three images of Saṁkarṣaṇa, Subhadrā and Jagannātha, which were installed in the shrine built by him. It is important to note that the *Brahma Purāṇa*, for the first time gives the number of the deities and their respective names ; it also uses the term 'Puruṣeśa' or 'Puruṣottama' to indicate the *dāru* (wood) that came floating on the sea and was dreamt of by king Indradyumna. It should be noted here that the names "Nilamādhava," "Sanātana," 'Vaṭa Rāja' are also mentioned in the course of this story. The anecdote of Indradyumna as narrated here is almost identical with that in the *Nārada Purāṇa*. The material furnished by the *Skanda Purāṇa*, however, needs more elaborate discussion. In its *Utkal Khaṇḍa* we get the following story :<sup>28</sup>

At the time of the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu, Brahmā enquired of Viṣṇu of the means of attainment for the salvation of all beings. Viṣṇu replied—'He himself is being worshipped as Nilamādhava in the Blue Mountain of the holy Puruṣottama Pīṭha. The highest form of salvation on earth is to be obtained by a visit to this god. But, this frightened Yama, the god of death, because of his apprehension that he would then lose his importance. To assure him of his position, Viṣṇu declared that he would be invisible after some days from that place. The story goes further in this manner : The Rohiṇi Kuṇḍa was situated a mile to the west of the desire-yielding (*Kalpa-vrkṣa*) tree on the 'Blue Mountain'. To the north of the Rohiṇi Kuṇḍa was the shrine of Nilamādhava who was being worshipped by a Śabara. By that time nobody knew about the sanctity of that holy place. Only the Devas used to worship Lord Nilamādhava every day. Indradyumna, a king of the solar-dynasty, standing fifth in line of succession to Brahmā, was reigning in the kingdom of Avantī in the *Satya-yuga*. He was very wise, learned and a *Vaiṣṇava* too. One day, he called a council of the learned people and enquired of them the place of Lord Viṣṇu. A *sanyāsin* replied that Lord Viṣṇu himself was visible in *perfect form* as Puruṣottama at the 'Blue Mountain' of the country of Oḍra. Emancipation of body and soul was possible through realisation of this form. At this, Indradyumna sent Vidyāpati, the brother of his family priest, as a messenger to the country of Oḍra. Coming there, Vidyāpati took refuge in a Śabara village, to the west of the 'Blue Mountain'. There, he won friendship of the Śabara Chief Viśvāvasu. Vidyāpati requested him to be kind enough to make arrangements for a sight of the Lord Nilamādhava. He told him that Indradyumna, his Sovereign Lord, would be fasting until he returns. The Śabara



Chief, out of compassion for the king, took Vidyāpati through a narrow track and showed him the shrine of Nilamādhava. Vidyāpati went back to the country of Avantī. In the meanwhile Lord Viṣṇu, in order to fulfil the pledge which he gave to Yamarāja, made the shrine of Nilamādhava invisible in a heap of sand. The king had by that time, set out for Utkala with his forces accompanied with Nārada. No sooner had he reached its boundary than the king of the country communicated to him the sad news of the disappearance of Nilamādhava. At this news, Indradyumna felt very much aggrieved. Nārada, however, assured him that the Lord would appear in the form of *Dāru* (wood). The king thus got some consolation and went to Nilagiri for the performance of horse-sacrifice. On the closing day of the horse-sacrifice, the Lord Nilamādhava made Himself visible to Indradyumna in a dream, and the attendants of the king at the time of his bath told him the news of a *Dāru* with four branches floating on the sea. Then, the king brought it and placed it on the *Mahāvedi* with supreme care and ceremony.

At the time of discussion with Nārada about the construction of the shrine a voice from above announced : "The Lord Himself will construct His own image, and thereafter will appear on the *Mahāvedi* which will be secretly covered for fifteen days. The old carpenter standing with his instruments will get himself confined inside the temple with its doors shut. Nobody will approach him until the construction is over. Even the sound produced by it is forbidden to hear." Thereafter, through musical instruments disturbance was created and the work was duly accomplished. At the end of 15 days, the images of four deities, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana, became manifest on the *Mahāvedi*. Again, the heavenly voice declared, 'O' king, dress these four deities with silken garments and adorn them with their own colours. Then, construct a temple of one thousand cubits high on the 'Blue Mountain' and establish the images there with due propriety. Accordingly the king worshipped the Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and the goddess Subhadrā after uttering '*Aṅgīkṣara*' (mantra), '*Puruṣasūkta*' and '*Devīsūkta*' respectively. He made abundant offerings of wealth according to the *Tulā Puruṣa* measure, and innumerable cattle. The trampling of the cattle created a big pit so large that it was converted into a tank filled with the conch-water. Afterwards, it was known as the 'Indradyumna-tank' (Cf. the *Mahābhārata* story mentioned above).

Indradyumna then made up his mind to begin the work of temple-building. Before the temple was finally built, he according to Nārada's advice, went to Brahmaloka to invite Brahmā for the consecration of the shrine as per the ceremonial rites. There was some delay in Brahmā's coming to consecrate the shrine; and another king of Utkala, Gālamādhava by name, claimed in the



meantime the shrine as his own. Brahmā intervened and had the temple restored to its original builder. It is evident from this elaborate description that the *Skanda Purāṇa* attempts the co-ordination of the various anecdotes of the *Mahābhārata* and the other *Purāṇas*.

In presenting this story of Lord Puruṣottama, the *Skanda Purāṇa* introduces certain novel features. Now, when the *Padma Purāṇa* refers to Puruṣottama as worshipped by the Bhils, the *Skanda Purāṇa* presents Puruṣottama as the 'Śabara Devatā' or the deity devoutly worshipped by the Śabarās under the leadership of Viśvāvasu. It introduces the term *Mahāvedī-Antarvedī* in the place of 'Vedī' of the *Mahābhārata*. It also introduces the conception of 'Caturdhā Mūrti' (four images) by narrating the process of installation on the *Mahāvedī* of the four deities in the temple of Puri. The idea of worshipping the three deities of Balabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannātha, each with a separate mantra or hymn, occurs for the first time in the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The specification of the colour and dress of the three deities is also another notable feature. Finally, the description of each deity as given here also deserves careful consideration.<sup>29</sup>

When we turn to other Sanskrit texts, we find references to *Puruṣottama Dhāma* and the deities of Puruṣottama, Subhadra and Balabhadra in *Bārhaspatya-sūtram*, *Kapīlasaṁhitā*, *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, *Kṣetramāhātmya*, *Nīlādrimahodaya*, *Puruṣottama-candrikā*, *Rudrayāmala*, *Tantrayāmala*, *Puruṣottamatatva*, *Saubhāgyamañjuṣā* etc. Excepting *Nīlādrimahodaya*, all these works describe Puruṣottama more or less in the same manner as does the author of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. These works, therefore, add nothing more substantial than the story of Puruṣottama as presented in this *Purāṇa*.<sup>30</sup>

In the *Nīlādrimahodaya*, however, we get a detailed account of rituals and festivals associated with the worship of Puruṣottama Jagannātha.<sup>31</sup> After the story of the temple construction in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, mention is made of the advent of 'Saptadhā Mūrti' or the seven images after 14 days after the beginning of the construction of the temple.<sup>32</sup> These seven images are Puruṣottama-Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadra, Sudarśana, Mādhava, Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. The latter three are additions to the company of the four main deities, already mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The intention of the author of *Nīlādrimahodaya* was perhaps to make the *Puruṣottama Piṭha* known as the *Saptāvaraṇa Piṭha* in order to bring it in accordance with the *Vaikuṇṭha Dhāma* as *Saptavarana* in the *Tāpinīs* (vide *Muktī-cintāmaṇi* and *Puruṣottama Tāpinī* Ch. II, p. 57).

The author of *Nīlādrimahodaya* furnishes us with interesting details regarding the respective colour and forms of the deities which we do not find in the earlier



texts. While giving the iconographic features of the images of Śrī Jagannātha and others, the main image is described as sky blue in colour and with eyes round like lotus-leaf. Unlike the description given in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, this text endows Jagannātha and Balabhadra with two arms (the other two being concealed). Balabhadra is referred to as *guṇṭapāda* or with the feet concealed and with a head covered by the seven hooded serpent: his colour is said to be as white as the *Kunda* flower or the moon or the conch, and he is also said to possess of lotus-like eyes. Subhadrā is said to have hands stretched down and a body of yellow colour. Sudarśana is described as pillar shaped and *jitendriya* or the one who has controlled the senses. The rest of the other images are described as miniature figures with usual attributes.

No account of the tradition associated with Jagannātha can be regarded as complete without the consideration of various literary works in Oriya which will be noted here. The earliest work of importance of this nature is the *Mahābhārata* of Sārālā Dāsa, written in the fifteenth century A.D. during the reign of king Kapilendradeva. Sārālā Dāsa<sup>32</sup> appears to ascribe the origin of the worship of Jagannātha to that of Mādhava or Nilamādhava, also named Śabarīnārāyaṇa by the Śabara community of the bygone days. The story begins with Vasu Śabara, (Visvāvasu), the son of Jarā Śabara, who used to worship secretly the stone image of the traditional god of his community—Mādhava. The practice of secret worship is ascribed to the command of the deity Mādhava Himself; the god wanted to be worshipped secretly because of the Kaliyuga, and had threatened Vasu to wipe out his community if he divulged the secret to others. Sārālā Dāsa next proceeds to introduce in the story another character, Gālamādhava, the king of Kāñci. One day, the Brahmin family-priest of the king, also named 'Vasu', told to Gālamādhava the secret worship of Nilamādhava in the Śabara palli. Gālamādhava sent his priest (Vasu) to find Nilamādhava. Vasu made friends with Vasu Śabara, and was taken blind-folded to the spot where the deity was then worshipped. While he was thus led to the deity, he had skilfully managed to drop grain seeds along the way so that he could trace and reach the place afterwards. After hearing from the priest Vasu these secrets of Nilamādhava, Gālamādhava set out on an expedition to the Śabara palli to take possession of the deity. But, to his misfortune the deity had disappeared. The god Nilamādhava reassured Jarā (Vasu-Śabara's father) that he would incarnate himself as Buddha in Nilagiri. Gālamādhava was enraged at the disappearance of the deity from the spot and attacked the Śabarās with a view to extracting from them the information regarding the whereabouts of the deity. A fierce fight ensued and all the Śabarās were killed except one. The surviving one cursed the king that his entire family would be extinct, as he was responsible for the destruction of the Śabara community. When



Gālamādhava was fighting with the last Śabara he heard a voice from above asking him to desist from so doing as he was a great devotee of the Lord. Here ends the story of Gālamādhava ; Indradyumna is then introduced to carry the story further.

Indradyumna was a devotee of Viṣṇu and was inspired by what he had heard from Jarā regarding the worship of Kṛṣṇa. After offering prayers to Yameśvara Mahādeva at Puri, he completed the construction of a temple and was anxious about the deity whose image would be installed there. Indradyumna established friendship with Jarā who told him about the existence of the half-burnt body of Śrīkṛṣṇa at the Rohiṇi Kuṇḍa. Kṛṣṇa was killed by Jarā's arrow, and while his body was being consumed in fire, a heavenly voice ordered the latter to throw the half-burnt body into the sea. This partly-burnt body of Kṛṣṇa floated down to Rohiṇi Kuṇḍa in the shape of a *Dāru*. When Indradyumna's efforts to remove the *dāru* away from Rohiṇi Kuṇḍa failed, he was advised by Śrīkṛṣṇa in a dream to send for Jarā Śabara and Vāsu Brahmin to lift the "Mahāmeru-like *dāru*" which was not a 'mere piece' of log, but the *Pinḍa* or the very body of Śrīkṛṣṇa himself. Indradyumna followed these instructions and employed the services of Jarā and Vāsu who were able to lift the *dāru*. What is striking here is that the failure of thousands of Indradyumna's men to remove the *dāru* and the miraculous success of the joint endeavour of two persons belonging to two different cultures, namely the non-Aryan and the Aryan.

Now, Indradyumna was at a loss as to how the images could be made out of the *dāru*. So, he again sought divine grace. The Lord appeared in a dream and asked him to request, Jarā to build the images. In compliance with Indradyumna's request, Jarā entered into the temple and was joined by a queer-looking Brahmin. Both constructed out of the *Dāru*, three images of three different shapes—the tallest, the medium-sized and the smallest. When the sound of the implements used in the making of the images was no longer heard, Indradyumna became impatient and dashed inside the temple. In the flash of the lamp Indradyumna saw three images on the altar bearing three different colours—white, yellow and black.

Indradyumna enquired of the Brāhmin companion of Jarā about the identity of the images. The Brahmin said that the white image was that of Śiva, the yellow one embodied Brahmā, and the black image belonged to none but Lord Viṣṇu Himself. Sārālā Dāsa interprets these images as the symbols of *Triguṇa*—namely, *Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. According to his story, Brahmā stood for Subhadra, and this female form of the god was due to a previous curse.<sup>34</sup> Indradyumna was favoured with the clue of the mode of worship of the three images. It is also said by Sārālā Dāsa that Jarā's descendants would be known as *Daitās*, and those of



Vāsu as the Brahmin priests; both the groups are now associated with the Jagannātha worship in the temple.

The *Deulatola* of Nilāmbara Dasa offers a slightly different account of the three images.<sup>35</sup> He starts straight with king Indradyumna of Mālava who sent Vidyāpati to find the image of Nilamādhava. Vidyāpati took the help of Lalitā, the daughter of Viśvāvasu, the Śabara Chief and found the deity. Indradyumna, on hearing from him, started on a military expedition to Orissa and met Viśvāvasu at Bānki in the district of Cuttack. Both became friends. Nilamādhava disappeared but was pleased to appear in a dream to Indradyumna who had kept on fasting for twenty-one days. He exhorted upon him to get the *Dāru* of Nilamādhava floating on the sea and instal the images to be constructed by Viśvakarmā. He further commanded not to open the doors of the temple till the completion of the work by Viśvakarmā. But, the doors were thrown open before the prescribed time at the impatience of his queen Guṇḍichā. This hasty action is considered to be the cause for the half-finished images of the three deities—Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha.

The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas offer the following explanation regarding the incomplete forms of the deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. Once, the eight *paṭṭa mahisies* (chief queens) of Śrī Kṛṣṇa were listening to his *līlā* at Brindabana as narrated by Brinda (Rohiṇi/Devaki according to other versions) in the inner apartment of the palace of Nanda. They had posted Subhadrā at the gate to guard against any male person coming in. As the narration proceeded from Brindaban *līlā* to the greatness of the *gopinis*, the two brothers, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma arrived at the gate and wanted to go in, but they were prevented by Subhadrā. As the narration further continued, quite within the hearing of Subhadrā and her brother, they were all inspired by *mahābhāva* (the supreme feeling) and the eight *sātvika vikāras* (religious manifestations) appeared in their persons. Their bodily forms underwent change, the hands and feet becoming smaller and smaller and the eyes more and more expanded in divine wonder. The transformation reached its climax as they heard about the greatness of Rādhā.

At this stage, when Nārada came to the spot, he found them in the mystic posture, caused by the supreme feeling with fully expanded eyes and devoid of hands and feet, Subhadrā being placed between Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. Overwhelmed at this divine revelation, Nārada fell at their feet and prayed them to grant such a vision to the people in Kaliyuga. Being pleased with his devotion they granted his prayer with a promise that they would appear in that mystic form at Nilācala (Puri) to the people of Kaliyuga. The Paurāṇic incident is related by Kāhnai Khuntia in his book, *Mahābhāva-prakāśa* (Chap III) after Sanātana Gosvāmī's *Bṛhatbhāgavatāmṛta*.



The story of the construction of the temple and the installation of the images of the three deities is given in much detail in the *Deulatolā* by Śiśukṛṣṇa Dāsa.<sup>36</sup> The pattern of the story is more or less similar to the above. The difference lies in the introduction of some interesting anecdotes to emphasize the intensity of the desire of Indradyumna to get the clue for finding the image of Nilamādhava. Out of the four messengers sent by him to different directions, only Vidyāpati succeeded in getting the secret about Nilamādhava by marrying Lalitā, the daughter of Viśvāvasu. Here, Nilamādhava is represented as expressing his desire to go to Nilagiri where he would be worshipped as *Dāru Brahma*. Indradyumna, who constructed the temple to fulfil the desire of Nilamādhava, approached Brahmā requesting him to come down to the earth to consecrate the temple. Brahmā took a long time to come down and in the meanwhile the temple was covered under sand and was later renovated by king Gālamādhava, who claimed it as his own. This gave way to a severe dispute between Gālamādhava and Indradyumna. Brahmā, who was accepted as the arbiter, went to "Bhūṣaṇḍa Crow" Kalpavaṭa to know the truth. The crow's evidence went in favour of Indradyumna's claim as the constructor of the temple. When this was disbelieved, they all went to the tortoises in the Indradyumna Tank. At the sight of Indradyumna, all the tortoises hid themselves under water and told Brahmā that they were employed by Indradyumna to carry stones for the construction of the temple and became tortoises on account of pressure of work and that they were afraid of meeting Indradyumna who might re-employ them in the same work. This evidence proved conclusive, and Gālamādhava was discomfited. Brahmā consecrated the temple and helped in the performance of the sacrifice. The rest of the story is the same as given in the earlier works. After the installation of the images, Indradyumna sought from Jagannātha four boons, which were granted to him. The first was that the descendants of Viśvāvasu would be designated as *Daitas* who would decorate and do other services especially during the *Ratha Yātrā* and *Anavasara*. The second secured for the children of Lalitā and their descendants—the designation of the *Suāra* (*Śūpakāra*) or the cooks; the third was that the descendants of Vidyāpati would be priests of Jagannātha. But, on being asked as to what he wanted for himself, Indradyumna prayed for a boon which proved a tremendous sacrifice of his own as he wanted no survivors in his dynasty, lest they should with a sense of vanity claim the temple as the work of their ancestor; and the Lord was pleased to grant him this last boon also. Thus, Śiśukṛṣṇa Dāsa attempted to make Indradyumna immortal through self-sacrifice.

Jagannātha Dāsa, in his '*Dāru Brahmagīta*' presents the story of the construction of the temple as well as the images with a little variation.<sup>37</sup> According to him, the Pāṇḍavas desired to burn the dead-body of Śrīkṛṣṇa after his death at the hands



of Jarā. Being advised by Sahadeva, they decided to take the dead body of Śrīkṛṣṇa to Svargadvāra, situated near the Nilagiri for funeral purposes. They constructed a sandal-wood cot, placed Śrīkṛṣṇa's body on the same and reached Nilagiri. Then, they brought sandal-wood from the Nilasundara forest and set fire to it. But, the corpse could not be consumed by flames except the hands and feet, because he would have to appear in the shape of Buddha in Nilācala being devoid of hands and feet. At this moment, a heavenly voice was heard directing them to throw the partly burnt body of Śrīkṛṣṇa into the sea. This *Pinḍa* of Śrīkṛṣṇa reached the sea-shore of Puri and was seen by Vasu Śabara for the first time, who kept it near the Banyan-tree, adjacent to the Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa. The rest is as described in the other works.

From a comparative study of the stories as narrated in the various works both Sanskrit and Oriya, it is evident that the name of Indradyumna is invariably associated with the construction of the great temple at Puruṣottama Kṣetra as well as the installation of the images. This raises the question as to why almost all the works mention 'Indradyumna' and no other person, historical or legendary. This may be due to the sanctity of the name of Indradyumna because of its occurrence in sacred and authoritative Upaniṣadic Texts as well as in famous epics like the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>38</sup> The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes Indradyumna as 'Rājārṣi'.<sup>39</sup> The *Chandogya Upaniṣad* refers to one *Bhāllaveya Indradyumna* as a great meditator of *Brahman-Ātman* (V. XIV, 1). The *Mahābhārata*, as stated above, presents Indradyumna as a great religious person. Probably, it was the intention of the authors of the *Purāṇas* and other works to trace out a man of deep pity who alone could succeed in evoking divine grace for constructing the images of the Lords and inaugurating their regular worship. So great was the credit that has been given to Indradyumna that one festival namely, *Indradyumnotsava*, otherwise known as '*Dīpadāna Śrāddhotsava*', has been devised to commemorate him. Indradyumna thus appears to have become a legendary figure. However, attempts have been made by scholars to identify him with some historical figures. For instance, Buckingham identifies him with the last king of the Pāla dynasty.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, V. A. Smith in his '*History of India*'<sup>41</sup> tried to identify him with one Indradyumna Pāla of the Pāla Dynasty. Fleet takes him to be Indrabala of the Śīrpur inscription.<sup>42</sup> But, all these identifications do not get any support of authentic historical evidence; partial similarity in names cannot lead us to any definite conclusion. Moreover, in the history of Mālava or Avantī we do not get any information about Indradyumna although the *Purāṇas* have attributed him to the kingship of that kingdom. The explanation offered by the author of *Daru Brahma Gītā*<sup>43</sup> appears to be more plausible. He says that Indradyumna is not a particular person but a hereditary title. That is why Yayāti is styled as



Indradyumna II, and Rāma Candra Deva of Bhoi dynasty was given the title Abhinava Indradyumna ; for both of them reinstalled the deities in the temple.

The mention of the anecdotes concerning the images being made of *Dāru* (wood) found floating on the sea by Sāralā Dāsa, Śiśukṛṣṇa Dāsa and Jagannātha Dāsa and the author of *Skanda Purāṇa* show the eagerness of the authors of these texts to establish connection of the worship of Lord Jagannātha with the Vedic tradition concerning the *Dāru* as given by Sāyaṇa. The authors in the Oriya Literature, concerning Jagannātha, rouse the interest of the readers by identifying the *Dāru* with the half-burnt body of Kṛṣṇa with a view to establishing the uninterrupted connection of Jagannātha of Kaliyuga with Lord Kṛṣṇa of the Dvāpara Yuga and to show that Jagannātha was no other than Lord Kṛṣṇa himself. This was in line with the tradition started in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which stated that Kṛṣṇa, Jagannātha as well as Puruṣottama were one and the same. "*Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Jagannātha jāne tvām Puruṣottamam.*"<sup>43</sup>

Viśvāvasu is also another important figure in the tradition. It is probable that one aspect of Jagannātha was originally connected with a god of the Śabaras whom the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* recognises as the cursed sons of Viśvāmitra.<sup>44</sup> This aspect might have been emphasised by the traditional association of Viśvāvasu, the Śabara chief, with the images of the deities. As regards the connection of Viśvakarmā with the making of the images, it might be with a view to laying stress on the Āryan aspect of the cult of Jagannātha. Again, the story about the partial completion of the images may in some way lay down the sense of imperfection and incompleteness in the attempts of human beings to give shape and form to the *Nīrguṇa Brahma*.

The traditions associated with the temple of Jagannātha are widespread not only throughout India but also in certain parts of the world.

In 1200 A.D. a Buddhist Pilgrim named Lāmā Tārānātha<sup>45</sup> gave an account of a mysterious tradition regarding the construction of a Buddha image, which has some resemblance with the construction of the image of Lord Jagannātha. A certain Brāhmin named Kalyāṇa wanted to make an image of the Buddha. Accordingly, he built a temple and brought many carpenters including Viśvakarmā to make the image. The temple was to be closed for 7 days so that the construction of the image could be completed. After 5 days, Kalyāṇa's mother apprehended the death of her son inside the temple. So, she opened it before the stipulated period was over, and found there an image half made. Such a tradition is also prevalent in Orissa regarding the construction of the image of Jagannātha.



An archaeologist named L.A. Wadell, while giving an account of the Bauddha ruins of Munghyr has said that the people called the place, where the ruins of Bauddha Temples were found, *Indradyumna Gaḍa*.<sup>46</sup> In the history of the construction of the temple of Jagannātha there is also the mention of the name of a king named Indradyumna who is said to be the first builder of the temple. So, it is evident that the tradition associated with Jagannātha was not localised in Orissa, but, popular throughout India with certain alterations.

It is interesting to note here that the names of *Puri* and *Nilācala* were also used in ancient Jāvā and Bāli. In Bāli, the temple where images were worshipped was called Puri. This might have been due to our cultural contact with the far off islands.<sup>47</sup>

The legend of Gālamādhava discovering the temple of Jagannātha buried in the sand, is also found in Burma in a different form. In Burma there was a Buddhist shrine which was similarly hidden in sand and subsequently discovered in the long run. From the Archaeological Survey Report of Burma it is known that ancient Prome was called Śrīkṣetra, and the entire region from Rangoon to Tante was known as *Ukkala* or *Utkalapa*. This fact certainly throws light on the cultural contact between Orissa and Burma.<sup>48</sup> This view is supported by various scholars, both Indian and foreign.

Reverend S. Beal in his Article under the title "*Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India*" states that a priest of Yihehan (in Chile) left China by sea for the south in the year 605 A.D. and spent three years in the country called Holiṅg. This is generally equivalent to Kaliṅga country. It also seemed to be used for the country along with the coast of Pegu as well as for an island in the south seas (Vide *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 194 ff.)<sup>49</sup>

In the Buddhist book named "*Si-ku-Ki*" it is stated that the country of Samatata or Gaṅgā was located to the south-west of the Śrīkṣetra and that was closely associated with the Far-Eastern Islands (Vide *Ibid.*, Vol. LIV, p. 226). Probably, that is the old name of Burma, and the culture of Kaliṅga spread to that extent in the Eastern Islands. It is not possible to explain when and in what stage the name or the term Śrīkṣetra was imported from Orissa to that region or in some later age from that region to Orissa. Dr. N. R. Ray in his book '*Brahminical Gods in Burma*'<sup>51</sup> has proved that the name Śrīkṣetra was imported from Orissa to Burma and the culture of Kaliṅga spread to these islands.

In the opinion of Dr. Ray, the ancient name attributed to old Prome is Śrīkṣetra, so often mentioned in the Mon-records as Śikṣet or Śrīkṣet and by the



Chinese pilgrims as *Se-li-cha-ta-lu*; and Śrīkṣetra is the holy land of Puri on the ancient Kalinga Coast. He further says that the name Śrīkṣetra given to old Prome may be apocryphal, but the attribution itself is significant, however late it may be. The old name of Pegu is Ushā which is but a form of Odra or Orissa. It is difficult to disbelieve that Pegu was colonised from Orissa or was once dominated over by a people who had migrated from Orissa. Indeed, the classical names are but survivals of actual colonisation from the original country inhabited by the colonists themselves. Likewise the earliest colonisation of Malaya Peninsula, and Jāvā had probably been made from Kalinga for the Hindus of the Peninsula, and the islands were and are still known as Kliš. Notice should also be taken of the fact that the gold coins of the Eastern Cālukya Kings have been found in Arakan and Siam.

Not only in Burma, but also in Ceylon there are many traditions which have great resemblances with Orissan traditions. Like the car-festival at Puri, a similar festival is performed in Ceylon on the 15th day of Āṣāḍha. This is called 'Ferhera' festival.<sup>52</sup>

In Arakani tradition, there is a story that the queen of Mina-fa-long wanted to build a temple and so she brought many images from outside. But, she could not bring those images from the boat to the land. A similar tradition is also found in Orissa regarding the lifting of *Dāru* in connection with the construction of the image of Jagannātha. The *Dāru* could not be lifted from the sea by the king alone, but it was easily removed with the help of a Śabara named Viśvāvasu. So, it is obvious that the legends connected with Jagannātha are not local traditions only; they are also found in the other parts of the world with slight variations.

According to another tradition, Lord Jagannātha was originally a Sun-God, and Sun-worship was a prevalent feature in the coastal tracts of Orissa.<sup>53</sup> Lord Jagannātha himself is sometimes called Sūrya Nārāyaṇa. From a copper plate inscription, discovered in a village called Sumandala in the Khalikote Tāluk, it is clear that there was a king named Dharmarāja who was a devout worshipper of the Sun-God. He used the title of *Sahasraraṣṁipādabhakta* and granted lands to Brāhmins.

There is another instance of the Sun-worship prevailing in Orissa. Clear evidences in the Purāṇas indicate that Maga Brāhmins, who were well versed in the Sun-worship, were brought from Sākadvīpa to Orissa.<sup>54</sup> The legend of Sāmba, stated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* bringing Maga Brāhmins from other states for the cure of his leprosy as presented in some Oriya Texts which prove that there is prevalence of the Sun-worship in the coastal regions of Orissa. Some historians are



of opinion that this form of Sun-worship is an importation from foreign countries.

It may be argued whether the Śākas (another such foreign tribe) had settled in Coastal Orissa during the Gupta age and after. In this connection, we may cite numerous numismatic collections made in coastal Orissa which refer to the regime of Kuśānas and Muruṇḍas. A large number of Kuśāṇa coins, discovered from the Mayurbhañj, Cuttack and Puri districts and preserved in Orissa and other State Museums, have been named as Puri Kuśāṇa Coins. Due to their peculiarity in shape, devices and symbols, these coins have been attributed to the 3rd or 4th century A.D.<sup>54</sup>

There is one significant point which looms large throughout these various traditions, namely that the Lord Puruṣottama or Jagannātha is regarded in all the writings as a sacred deity and that the Puruṣottama Kṣetra, the sanctuary of Lord Jagannātha, as a holy place both for worship and pilgrimage. In other words, Jagannātha and Puruṣottama are descriptive epithets, one meaning 'Lord of the Universe' and the other, 'the Supreme Being' (cf. the *Bhagavadgītā* description of the Supreme Lord as Puruṣottama in canto XV).<sup>55</sup> The images which are worshipped today and which number four (and not three) including Sudarśana have enjoyed a continuity of traditions. It is a fact that after the lapse of every twelve years which, according to the traditional Indian computation is called a *yuga*, the images are renewed. But, every subsequent designing of the images followed exactly the previous pattern in all particulars and details, and in this way, although the wood out of which the images are built or carved is changed, the same old forms and symbols enjoy an unbroken continuity and consequently permanency. It can, therefore, be said that in a sense the worship of Lord Jagannātha in the group of four figures is the worship of the mysterious forms and symbols which the images represent throughout the ages. The wood which forms the '*Kalevara*' or the bodies of the deities is being removed but the forms and symbols are strictly preserved with utmost precision and care.

Then again, it is only a particular species of wood (such as the *Nimba*) which is being regularly used for curving the images.

There has not been any attempt at any time to carve the figures in stone or to cast them in metal. It is evident, therefore, that the intention was to give permanence to the forms and symbols only and not to the material component of the images. This system is also regarded as another tradition in addition to all others previously narrated. Various names have been given to these forms suiting the exigencies of the different periods or in accordance with the requirements of a particular popular religion prevalent at the time. But, it cannot be overlooked that the same images (forms or symbols) are the bearers of that infinite multitude of



names and surnames. It may be that pre-historic ancestors of the Śābaras had one type of names for the images, the Śābaras another, and the people of the subsequent period quite different ones ; but it cannot be denied that the same kind of images, forms and symbols continued to be worshipped from the hoary past to the present day. According to some the main images of the Puri Temple have something in common with the totem worship of the aboriginal people of the locality. But, whatever connection the latter might have with the developed worship of Puruṣottama Jagannātha at a very early stage, it was merged completely with the cult, in course of time.

Some scholars have attempted to recognise either Jaina or Bauddha emblems in the four symbolic images of the Jagannātha temple.<sup>56</sup> One scholar Late Pandit Nilakantha Das, has suggested that not only the images and symbols but also the mode of worship and the cultural tradition centering round the religion of Jagannātha are Jaina in origin. He is perhaps of the opinion that the three main figures of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha collectively stand for the Jaina trinity concept of Samyakjñānā, Samyak-caritra and Samyak-drṣṭi.<sup>57</sup> But, he has not cited sufficient conclusive details and objective evidences in support of his suggestion. Again, the spirit of tolerance, the absence of caste distinction, the belief in *Kaivalyamukti* etc. which he mentions as reminiscent of Jaina mode of religious life cannot be regarded as exclusively Jaina features.<sup>58</sup> Similar traits can also be found in Buddhism and in the great synthesized way of Hinduism. Dinakṛṣṇa Dasa, a poet of Orissa of the 16th century, and one of the originators of the religious faith says that the type of liberation or *mukti* which Jagannātha-worship gives, is the *Kaivalya Mukti*.<sup>59</sup> This concept of *Kaivalya-mukti* has been taken as an additional evidence by Pandit Das in support of his view *i.e.* that Jagannātha-religion was definitely a Jaina mode of worship at its beginning. But, it is overlooked by him that Jaina religion and ethics do not believe in the sanctity of exclusiveness, and that a true Arhat must necessarily work for elevation of all the fallen and suffering souls. The spirit of exclusiveness or indifference contained in the idea of *Kaivalya* is found only in *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* philosophy,<sup>60</sup> which believes in individual liberation and not in general liberation of the mankind. This takes away one fundamental ground underlying his contentions. He seems to confuse between the notions of *Kevala jñāna* ; *Kevali* on the one hand, and *Kaivalya-mukti* on the other.

*Kevali* in Jainism is different from the concept of *Kaivalya-mukti* as in *Sāṅkhya*. The apparent participation of *Puruṣa* in the world-process is bondage ; transcendent aloofness through knowledge of discrimination is the *Kaivalya* according to the *Sāṅkhya* philosophers.<sup>61</sup> *Kaivalya* means spirit of detachment. The exact English equivalent of *Kaivalya* is, therefore, 'Isolation', and this idea is radically different from the Jaina idea of sympathetic participation in the cause of



spiritual upliftment of the fallen by an Arhat. The word *Kevala* in Jainism means perfect knowledge.<sup>62</sup> (*Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra*, Chap. I, IX). It also means the Omniscient (Ch. VI : XIII). The *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* (Śloka 21) says "*Puruṣasya darśanārtham Kaivalyārtham tathā prādhānasah*."<sup>63</sup>

Then again, much has been made out of the affix "Nātha" by Pandit Das. He suggests that Jagannātha like Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha must have been one of the Jaina saints or Tirthaṅkaras. Such a conclusion, based upon so flimsy a ground, can hardly be accepted. In the Paurāṇic age, *Brāhya Śaiva* cult or *Yoga Mārga* attained its perfection as *Nātha Dharma* or *Nāthism*. Śiva was termed Nātha by the followers of Śaivism. The word Nātha, according to Nathism, is a significant philosophic term corresponding to Brahma in *Vedānta* philosophy and Iśwara in *Sāṅkhya Yoga*. Etymologically, the word means lord or master capable of granting power, opulence, benediction, welfare, etc. Pāṇini says :

*Nāthḥ nādhḥ yacnataḥ paisvaryāṣihṣu*

*Siddhānta Kaumudī*, Vol. II, Chap. I, p. 67.

Archaeological excavations have brought to light a large number of stone images of the Jaina Saints in various parts of Orissa. Most of them are beautiful, and none of them resembles the wooden images of Puri. Then again, the *Dāru* or the piece of wood out of which the images are carved is called *Apuruṣaṁ* (impersonal), and Jagannātha is not only called *Puruṣottama* but also *Apuruṣa* ; never a Jina who is after all personal. The Jaina Saints are all historical or mythical persons, and there is nothing impersonal about them. It is possible that in the process of integration, the cult of Jagannātha adopted some of the rites and symbols which were in vogue in Jainism. But, that cannot prove that the cult of Jagannātha is itself Jaina or had any origin in the Jaina religious tradition.

There is no such elaborate system of worship in any Jaina shrine as is current in the temple of Jagannātha. Then again, a 'Tirthaṅkara' is venerated or worshipped as a superman, as an enlightened soul, as an uplifter of a community ; but Lord Jagannātha is venerated as God Himself, as the Absolute Spirit, as the Lord of the universe, as the creator, preserver and destroyer, and as the ultimate goal of spiritual life. So, the concept about Him is absolutely different from that of a Jina, and it is strange that one should suggest that a religious tradition involving belief in God should have originated from a religion without a God.

Another suggestion, made by the said scholar in support of his view that Jagannātha worship was Jaina in origin, is that the reference to Kaliṅga Jina in the Hitigumphā inscription of Khāravēla is nothing but the earliest mention of



Jagannātha worship in Jaina setting.<sup>64</sup> But, this is apparently so farfetched and uncritical that it cannot stand the least scrutiny.

Some others have attempted to trace the origin of Jagannātha from Buddhism which was prevalent as a dominant religion in Eastern India, embracing the part of Orissa adjacent to the shrine of Jagannātha.<sup>65</sup> Buddhism is also a religion without a God; although contrary to the advice of Buddha himself, the Buddhists made a god out of him. The data upon which the contention of these scholars is based may be summed up as follows<sup>66</sup>:

(1) In Buddhism, there is the worship of three symbols called '*Triratna*', such as Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

(2) The image of Jagannātha is supposed to contain a bone, commonly believed to be a bone of Lord Kṛṣṇa; but according to the advocates of this theory, a relic of Lord Buddha himself.

(3) The Bathing Festivals and the Car Festivals of Lord Jagannātha bear resemblance to the similar Buddhistic Festivals, witnessed in many Buddhistic Shrines during the time of Fa-Hian.

(4) While Hindu religion is caste-ridden, Buddhism is casteless (although not sectless). There is no caste-rigour within the temple-precincts at Puri.<sup>66a</sup> (But Buddha himself wished to be born in a Brāhmin family as stated in the *Lalitavistara*.)

As regards the first of these contentions it can be pointed out that the images in the temple of Jagannātha are actually four not three (The *Agni*, *Padma*, *Brahma* and *Skanda Purāṇas* bear witness to it). So, if the images stand for '*Ratnas*', then these are four *Ratnas* and not *Triratna* as in Buddhism.

As we have said before, these four figures correspond to the four *pādas* of Brahman or four *mātrās* of *praṇava* of the ancient *Upaniṣads*. If the number is to be the basis of any argument, then it seems that the *Caturdhā mūrtis* (Balabhadra, Subhadra, Jagannātha and Sudarśana) in the temple of Lord Jagannātha are suggestive of their affinity with the Vedic, Āgamic or Upaniṣadic religion and not Buddhism or Jainism. Then again, if the number of images was actually three instead of four, that could not constitute an argument worth the name in support of the thesis that the emblems are Buddhistic. In the Hindu or Brāhmanical traditions, there are several groups of three namely:—*Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*; *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*; *Paśu*, *Pāśa* and *Paśupati*; *Iḍa*, *Piṅgalā* and *Susumnā*; *Jāgrata*, *Svapna* and *Suṣupti*; *Rāma*, *Lakṣmaṇa*, *Sītā*; *Kṛṣṇa*, *Balarāma* and *Subhadra*. So, there cannot be any valid reason why the three incomplete images are to be taken as Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha or the *Triratna* of Jainism as—



- (1) *Samyag-darśana* or *Samyag-dṛṣṭi* (the perfect vision) ;
- (2) *Samyag-jñāna* (the perfect knowledge) and
- (3) *Samyak-caritraṁ* (the perfect conduct).

Regarding the second point it can be said that apart from the mention of the common belief in the existence of a bone inside the images, the protagonists of the theory have not advanced any sound reason to connect it with a relic of the Buddha. Some of the temple ministrants are of the opinion that the sacred objects inside the Vighrahas are not bones but *tāntric-yantras* with the *śālagrāmaśilā*. Still, there is not the least certainty about the exact nature of these objects, and it will be too hazardous to take them as relics of Buddha. Moreover, in the Hindu *Dharma Sāstras*, the worship of bone is not permitted. But, wherever a Buddhistic Relic, either of Buddha himself or of his disciples could be found *stūpas* were built and the places remained continuously Buddhistic sanctuaries with the Vihāras all round the holy places. But, the temple of Lord Jagannātha does not have any such tradition, and all the *maṭhas* old and new are Hindu *maṭhas*. It is true that Hiuen-Tsang mentions five Buddhist Vihāras in the town of *Che-li-ta-to*, identified by a few scholars with the present Puri.<sup>67</sup> This identification, however, is not universally accepted, and it is not at all safe to come to any conclusion on the basis of this uncertain data. The spirit of tolerance, which is advanced as an argument in favour of Buddhistic base of Jagannātha worship, is not unknown to Hindu tradition. Hindu attitude towards Buddha was not antagonistic, he was given an honoured place in the Vaiṣṇava pantheon as one of the *Avatāras*. Again, the Hindus of Puri had no objection to allowing many other religious establishments connected with such medieval saints as Kavīr, Nānak and others to function in that holy city.

It is a fact that no establishment, connected with Buddhism or Jainism, is to be found anywhere in or about the city. But, there were such institutions in other parts of Orissa, and remains found near Bhubaneśwar, Cuttack and other places, fully prove that Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmaṇical Hinduism flourished side by side in early medieval times.

The ritual known as *Mañca-snāna* (the bathing festival of Jagannātha) is performed on the *Jyeṣṭha Pūrṇimā* day at Puri (full-moon day of *Jyeṣṭha*) whereas, the image of Buddha is bathed on *Vaiśākhapūrṇimā* according to the Buddhistic rites observed in Ceylon.<sup>68</sup> The rites of the Car Festival are further cited as the evidences in support of the Buddhistic origin of the deity. We are to bear in mind that there are instances of the ritualistic use of chariots in Hinduism from the Vedic and Upaniṣadic periods. When a deity is installed in a temple, it is taken out in a chariot to circumambulate the temple three times. The *Atharva Veda* refers to the descent of gods in chariots :



*Ebhiragne saratham yahyaabārñ  
Nanā rathamvā vibhavohyaśvā. Patnīvata  
strimsatam trimśca devānanu svadhamābaha madayasva*

(O Agni, please come with all the thirty-three gods in one chariot or bring them in different chariots). *Atharva Veda*, XX, 2.XIV

As regards the fourth point, it seems to be a very weak argument. This suggests that since the Hindu religion is caste-ridden and Jainism and Buddhism are casteless, and the universalistic religion of Jagannātha does not admit of any case-barrier; therefore, it must have been a Buddhistic or a Jaina institution.

The universality of Jagannātha-religion is most prominently noticed in the acceptance of *Mahāprasāda* by members of all castes and creeds together. The greatness of *mahāprasāda* has been loudly acclaimed in the *Purāṇas*, such as *Padma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Varāha*, *Garuḍa*, and other tāntric texts like the *Brahmayāmala* and *Rudrayāmala*.<sup>69</sup> Rather than washing the hand after taking *Mahāprasād*, a devotee touches his head with that hand as he considers *Mahāprasāda* to be most sacred. This custom was prevalent in the Vedic Age when the sages, after performing the *Soma Yāga*, used to take *caru-annaṁ* and thereafter rub their hands over their heads instead of washing them.

This *prasāda* system is not found in any Buddhistic or Jaina institution; and this is the most fundamental part of the Jagannātha cult of Puri. How from the sectarian Hindu faith evolved a non-sectarian universal mode of worship, may be an interesting problem for our historians and philosophers to study. But, there is no evidence to prove that integration of cults and faiths was not and is not an essential part of Hindu religion which claims to be an eternal and universal religion—the *Sanatanadharma*.

The custom of cleaning the temple and sweeping the floors of the chariots cannot be regarded as peculiarly Jaina, as has been contended by some scholars. The Jains sweep their own paths to avoid possible killing of ants and other insects which are also regarded by them as *jīvas* having souls. But, the Jains are not accustomed to sweep the floors of the temples of their deities as a mark of veneration or humility. The Jaina is a godless religion, and so this age-worn custom of sweeping the floors of the chariots of the Gods by the Rājā of Puri, cannot by any stretch of imagination, be regarded as a Jaina tradition. In all the Hindu rituals cleaning of the grounds and floors, forms an essential preliminary. So, this evidence is rather peculiarly in favour of the Brāhminical and Hindu tradition and not the Jaina traditions. Most of our ancient towns were built around temples. The king in most of those places not only looked upon himself as a servant (*Sevaka*) of the



temple deity but also used this special status as a part of his surname. The Mahārājā of Travancore called himself Padmanābha Dāsa, and this is true of most of the ancient traditional kingdoms of the south. Sometimes, the whole kingdom of Utkala was described as the kingdom of Lord Jagannātha and the Rājā himself passed as the *Sevaka* of Jagannātha and as the Superintendent of His temple. So, the ritual of sweeping the floors of the chariots is not only a Hindu ritual but is also characteristically an Orissan one. There are several legends connected with this function of the Rājā of Puri.

Devotion (*bhakti*) or absolute self-surrender constitutes the most dominant note in the religious tradition of Jagannātha; and before the Lord of the universe all are deemed as equals and co-sharers of the *Mahāprasāda*. It seems to be a very strange argument that since sectarian Hinduism prevails in some other parts of India, there could not evolve a non-sectarian universalistic Hindu religious tradition in one of the most ancient seats of Hindu religion and culture.

Jagannātha religion is the result of a process of evolution, and many historical and other forces might have contributed to the evolution of the most universal form of religious worship. The existence of Kalpavaṭa and Nilacakra has again been regarded as a noticeable Jaina feature. The supporters of this view should remember that the Kalpavaṭa and Nilacakra are to be found in almost all the Vaiṣṇava temples in India and that they are not exclusively Jaina. Thus, there seems to be no valid reason in support of the contention that the non-sectarian cult of Jagannātha cannot be a Hindu tradition simply because of this feature. The Hindu religion, beginning from the pre-historic age down to the present time, accepted, integrated and synthesized all living elements of the various sectarian religions of India. It has housed an infinite multitude of different sects and creeds, but it is not, in its historical evolutionary aspect only one of those sectarian beliefs or creeds. This is the *Jagannātha Dharma* and this is the *Sanātana Dharma*, the faith which refuses to be eclipsed, which rejuvenates itself at every stage, absorbs and integrates the basic tenets of all historical religions.

#### *The Sabara Tradition in the Temple :*

The impact of the Sabaras on the Jagannātha Temple at Puri is remarkable. The *Sevakas* called *Daitāpatīs* are of the Sabara Origin and they are engaged in worship and services of the main Deities, specially at the time of the '*Navakalevara*' and the Car Festivals. The importance of the Sabara influence is felt when their ways of services and devotion are properly observed. They are supposed to have been related to the family of the Lord Jagannātha. Soon after '*Navakalevara*', starting from the burial of the old images upto the last rite, they observe the funeral ceremony like the Hindus.



The tradition records that in "*Dvāpara Yuga*" Lord Kṛṣṇa was born in the family of the 'Yadus'. The 'Yadu Vainśa' or Yadu family is synonymous with the 'Satvata' family. Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, happened to be the own cousin of Vasu Sabara. Hence, Vasu Śabara was related by blood to the *Satvata* family. When Lord Kṛṣṇa left His mortal body, there was a tug of war between the *Sabaras* and the *Pāṇḍavas* on the issue of funeral and to solve the dispute, Arjuna and Jārā carried off the body of the Lord from Dvaraka to the distant sea-shore of the east and started the funeral. Possibly, that funeral ground is at present identified as the '*Kaivalya Vaikuṇṭha*' or '*Keili Vaikuṇṭha*' of Puri. The *Sabaras* too had come to this place and caught hold of the '*Indranilamaṣi*' (the azure blue stone) that was favourite of the Lord's dress. This was found in the funeral place and was worshipped by the *Sabaras* as a token of the last sacred aspect of their Lord. Most possibly, the *Sabaras* constructed the Holy Image of Kṛṣṇa with the help of that azure blue-stone and the image is being worshipped from time immemorial in the name of Śrī 'Nilamādhava' (the Blue Lord). In the meantime, the remains of the mortal body floated to and fro on the perilous Sea and gradually it assumed the shape of the sacred log (*Dāru*). Jārā Sabara, who by mistake had killed Śrī Kṛṣṇa, now searched for the body in utter despair and disillusionment and discovered it at last. He kept the body somewhere secretly and began to worship it with all tribal simplicity. His son, Visvāvasu, too continued the worshipping of the body with humble devotion. The '*Darubrahma*' (the Divine Wood) which appeared in dream of King Indradyumna of Malava, is exactly the body of the departed Lord Kṛṣṇa. Afterwards, as legend says, the '*Darubrahma*' or the divine wood was carved by Viśvakarmā (the divine artist who descended in disguise) into the Holy Images of Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. On '*Navakalevara*' occasion when Brahman (the sacred divine) is placed inside the new images, it is presumed that possibly the azure blue-stone which was worshipped by *Sabaras*, might have been placed there. The *Sabaras* believe Jagannātha to be the descendant of Lord Kṛṣṇa. They claimed the mortal body of the Lord, declaring themselves to belong to the family of the Lord, who evidently emerged from Pravāsa Tirtha and incidentally came upto Puri coast by crossing the *Vindhyaśala*, the central range of mountains of India. They were products of the *Satvata* family being closely related to Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Thus, the *Daitāpatīs* at present bury the old images on the eve of '*Navakalevara*' and perform the funeral rites in traditional manner. They are certainly the descendants of Visvāvasu and also they humanize the cult of *Navakalevara*. The memory of the past has become an organic part of the tradition today.

The memorable dark night when Jārā Sabara aimed his arrow at the lively lotus-feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, mistaking them to be a deer's ear, was believed to be



the *Kṛṣṇa Caturdaśī of Āṣāḍha* (early June). The lotus Feet of the Lord hidden under the thin leaves of a herb, might have possibly appeared like the deer's ear when there was a flash of lightning. The memory of the myth even today leads to the legendary celebration of the *Navakalevara* on the fourteenth day of dark fortnight on the Āṣāḍha. In spite of the lack of historical evidence about the relationship between the Lord Jagannātha and the *Daitāpatīs*, the relationship is evidently implied in myth and legends.

It is told earlier that the Puri Temple is the epitome of the synthesis of the Āryan and the Non-Āryan cultures. Yet, the speciality of the Jagannātha Temple and the Jagannātha Cult, in this synthesis, is that neither the Āryans have their traditional feeling of aristocratic self-consciousness nor the non-Āryans evince the spirit of inferiority complex. The Puri Temple (Śrī Kṣetra) is the ever-impelling symbol of equality, fraternity and progress which are obviously the noblest destination of mankind. Multifarious sects and groups have enlightened themselves by accepting the Jagannātha Cult.

As regards the process of worship in the temple, the Sabaras have got a distinct role. Just after the Bathing Festival in the fullmoon day of Jyeṣṭha, the Deities are worshipped in the secret (*Anavasara*) chamber for full two weeks. At this time, the Brāhmins do not usually worship the Deities. Rather the *Daitāpatīs* of Sabara origin take up the fortnightly worship. The worship is so vividly engaging and continuous that the *Daitāpatīs* do not have relaxing moods or moments. Hence for them, the time is aptly called *Anavasara* (engagement without rest). They decorate the body of the Deities with cosmetics of various kinds, oil and ornaments. The Vedic offerings are never made during this fortnight. They offer fruits to the Deities and themselves take *Prasād* there. Even it is believed that, they affectionately offer fruits to the Deities after testing them by themselves. This is called '*Samarpaṇa Kriyā*' (the process of holy offering). Here, the spirit of devotion is not formal or ritualistic; it is rather heart to heart tribal offering to the Deities. Singing different hymns in a low key they offer everything to the Deities in typical Sabara fashion. Considering such system of offering, one easily recalls the story of the *Bhāgavat* where the cowherd friends of Kṛṣṇa offered fruits to Him after having a taste of those fruits. At the time of *Anavasara*, the Deities are incessantly decorated in their own way by the *Daitāpatīs*. It naturally indicates the Sabara's intense affection for the Deities at the time of *Anavasara* worship. The word "*Daita*" itself means the "most beloved one".

Besides, one can comprehend the remarkable influence of the Sabaras at the outset of the Car Festival. When the main Deities are taken to the respective Cars, various types of fruits are offered to them. On the Cars, the worship is never



made in Vedic lines. Before the Cars are dragged by multitudes, the Deities are dressed in the manner of Sabaras, the *Peṭi* (a typical Sabara Costume) is placed in the waist of the Deities. At the time of *Pahaṇḍi* (the procession to the Cars) the *Daitāpatīs* constantly sing ritualistic '*Mālaśree*' songs by tying up the *Peṭis* around their waist. The Deities move towards the Cars in north-west (*Isāna*) direction whereas in Āryan process, the procession moves towards eastern direction. Hence, the north-west movement of the Deities towards the Cars, obviously points to the impact of the Sabara convention on the festival. When the Cars move ahead, the *Dahukas* continue to dance on the Cars by singing vulgar musical extracts. The *Paṇṇa Sabaras* (a Section of Sabaras) have the traditional belief that such songs and wordings rendered by them might protect and safeguard the Deities on the Cars by warding off evil spirits.

Just before the Deities are taken to the Cars, the *Daitāpatīs* tie up charms and talismens made up of roots and leaves in the arms of the Deities. Such talismens are supposed to protect the body according to *Tantras*. All this process is characteristically Sabara mode of worship.

The '*Māñeasāna*' (the bathing ceremony on the Divine altar) in spite of its Vedic connotations, is out and out a Sabara process. The bathing of Deities is done exclusively with the water of confined and closed well which goes against the Vedic grain of bathing Deities with the running water of rivers or open wells. The water inside the golden well in the northern side of the temple, is kept untouched all along the year and with the help of this water the bathing is performed. The Sabaras attach sacredness and purity to and use the '*Anaḍbāha*' water for any holy bath which is stored inside thick forest unpenetrated by sunlight. In the light of this belief, here also the secret and sacred water stored inside the golden well (*Sunā-Kua*), is used in the bathing of the three Deities.

The *Daitāpatīs* sit together with the Lords and take the '*Gyāntisāra*' dishes (the dishes taken by the members of the same family together). They practically safeguard and take care of the Deities every now and then. Therefore, the Vedic Āryans and non-Āryans have joined hands in worshipping the *Trinity* of this temple. Of course, only in two festivals the rights and duties of the Sabaras are duly executed with traditional decorum. As has been noticed, they do not have any privilege to participate in all other festivals of the Deities which are celebrated according to Āryan religious ethos. Thus, we notice that the complete Jagannātha Cult is a Synthesis—which synthesis may have been resulted after understandable conflict between the two principal religious ethos—the Āryan and the non-Āryan or in other words the Vedic Āryans and non-Vedic Āryans.

When the first devotee of the Lord i.e. Visvāvasu prohibited Vidyāpati from looking at the Image of *Nilamādhava*, the root of the conflict obviously lay there. The Āryan king Indradyumna was afterwards interested to Āryanize the God *Nilamādhava* who was in fact the Deity of the Sabaras. In this connection, the Sabaras actively protested. None can say whether any group won or lost in that conflict; yet it is quite evident that both the races have enlightened each other's cultural way of life through exchange of ideas and outlook. Basically, the Indian culture is a true replica of the Jagannātha Culture. Various castes and creed, communities and sects, customs and traditions taken together, have become an organic living whole and have made one religion for all. The tributaries of multifarious culture in India have joined in the unity of all Indian cultures and manifested here in Jagannātha Temple. Lord Jagannātha stands as the single eternal symbol of that cultural assimilation.

## REFERENCES

1. *Rgveda*, X, 155, 3.
2. *Rgveda Samhitā*, Vol. IV, Ch. X, 155, 3 *Sāyabhāṣya*, p. 841 (Vaidika Samsodhana Maṇḍala, Vedic Research Institute, Poona).
3. *Ibid*, p. 840.
4. *Atharva Veda paippāladasamhitā*, VI, 8. 7. (Ado yaddāru plavate sindhoḥ madhye apuraṣaṁ Tadā rabhasva durbaṇo tena yāti parastaraṁ).
5. *History of Dharmasāstra* by P. V. Kane, Vol. IV, pp. 692-93.
6. (a) *Rgveda*, X, 81. 4, pp. 563-564 (Wilson's *Rgveda*, Vol. VI)

Kiṁ Svidvanarṇ ka u sa br̥kṣa āsa yāto dyāvā pr̥thivī niṣtataksuḥ  
Maniṣi-no manasā pr̥chhatedu tadyadadhyatiṣṭhadbbhuvanāni dhārayan.

Sāyana while giving the interpretation of this sūkta concludes saying in the last portion of this sūkta : "Kiṁ ca Īsvaraḥ Bhuvanāni dhārayan yat sthānaṁ adhyatisthat tat api pr̥chata : etasya sarva-syāpyuttaraṁ Brahma sa vṛkṣa āsit ityādikamuttaraṁ".

(b) X, 81, 7, p. 38. 3.

(c) X, 114, 3, pp. 321-322.

7. *Rgveda* I, 182, 7, p. 183.

8. *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad Sūtra* V, Rg Samhitābhāṣya.

9. *Bhagavadgītā*, Ch. XV, śloka I.

10. *Svetāśvetaro Upaniṣad*, III, 19.

Apānīpādo yavano grabhītā  
Pas'yatyacakṣuḥ sa śṛṇotyakarnaḥ  
Sa vetti vedyāṁ na ca tasyasti Vettā  
Tamāhurārādhyāṁ puruṣaṁ mahāntaṁ.

11. *Kaivalya Upaniṣad*, Mantra 21.

Apānīpādo haṁ acintyāsaktiḥ paśyāmya cakṣuḥ śṛṇomyakarnaḥ  
Ahaṁ vijānāmi viviktarūpo na cāsti vettā mama citsadahaṁ



12. *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttarākāṇḍa) 108. 28.  
 Kiṁ cānyadvaktu michhāmi rākṣasendra mahābalaḥ  
 ārādhaḥ Jagannāthaṁ Ikṣvāku kuladaivataṁ
13. *History of Indian Literature* by Winternitz, Vol. I, Epic and Purāṇas, p. 493.
14. *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindā kāṇḍa, Sarga 40, Lines 41-61 Gita Press, p. 333.  
 Svādūdasayottare tire yojanāni trayodaśa  
 Jātarūpaśilo nāma sumahān kanakaprabhaḥ  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Sahasraśirasaṁ devamanantaṁ nilāvāsasam  
 Triśiraḥ kāñcanaḥ ketustālastasya mahātmanaḥ  
 Sthāpitaḥ parvatasyāgre virājeti Sa-vedikāḥ  
 Pūrvasyāṁ dīnīrmaṇaṁ kṛtaṁ tat tridaśesvaraḥ  
 Tataḥ paraṁ hemamayaḥ śrīmānodayaparvataḥ  
 Tasya koṭirdivaṁ spṛṣṭvā satayojanamāyata.
15. *Jhaṅkāra*, 1961, Issue Oriya monthly magazine.
16. *Mahābhārata* III, Chapter 198, Śloka I.
17. *Ibid*, III, 114, Ślokas 3, 5, 12 and 23.
18. *Jagannātha mandira in Bengali*, p. 30, *Sahakāra* Vol. XVI, Sankhyā 7. M. M. Ganguli, Orissa and her remains, pp. 406-407.
19. *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* II, 6. 4. 3.
20. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* Ch. I, Pt. 3.
21. *Mahābhārata Śāntiparva*, Ch. 346, ślokas 10 & 11.
22. *Matsyapurāṇa*, Ch. XIII, Śloka 35. *Ibid*, Ch. XXII, Śloka 38.
23. *Viṣṇu*, I, XV, 52.  
*Agni*, Ch. 63.  
*Padma* Ch. 158, S. 1-6. Ch. 18.  
*Nārada*, Ch. 52, S. 41-93.  
*Brahma*, Ch. 48.  
*Skanda*, Ch. XX, Ślokas 35-36.
24. *Padma*. Pātālakhaṇḍa, Ch. 16-26.  
*Brahma*, Ch. 42-52.  
*Skanda*, Puruṣottama Māhātmya, Chs. 15-23.
25. *Agnipurāṇa*, Ch. 63.
26. *Padmapurāṇa*, Pātālakhaṇḍa, Ch. 18 Whole.
27. *Brahmapurāṇa*, Ch. 45, ślokas 71-76.
28. *Skandapurāṇa*, Chs. 6, 7, 9 and 15.
29. *Ibid*, Chs. 20 and 47.
30. *Bārhaspatya sūtram*, Ch. III, p. 20, *Sūtra* 119, p. 120.  
*Kapila Saṁhitā*  
*Tiritha Cintāmaṇi*  
*Kṣetramāhātmya*  
*Nīlādri Mahodaya*  
*Puruṣottama candrikā*  
*Rudrayāmala*  
*Tantrayāmala*

(References of the above books have already been given).

31. *Nīlādri Mahodaya*, Ch. VIII, XV and XXXIV.
32. *Ibid*, Ch. IV, pp. 33-35.
33. *Sārālā Mahābhārata in Oriya*, Muṣali Parva whole.
34. *Premabhaktibrahma Gītā*, Ch. V and *Rasakallola*, p. 1., Prachi Edition.
35. Nīlāmbara Dās, Deulatolā in Oriya.
36. Śiśukṛṣṇa Dās, Deulatolā.
37. *Dārubrahmagītā*, Jagannātha Dās.
38. *Mahābhārata*, III. Ch. 198.
39. *Satapaṭha Brāhmaṇa*, V. XIV, I.
40. *The Encyclopedia Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 318.
41. *History of India*, p. 401, V. A. Smith.
42. *Sirpur Inscription of Indravala*.
43. *Dārubrahmagītā*. Ch. III.
- 43a. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, Ch. XXXIII, śloka.
44. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, XXXIII, VI.
45. Tales of Tārānāth (Quoted in *Prajātantra* Special Issue) Sunday 23. 6. 1963.
46. *Prajātantra*. -do-
47. *Ibid and Legends of the Burmese Buddha*, Bicandet, Vol. II, p. 96.
48. *Ibid*.
49. *I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 164.
50. *Ibid*, Vol. LIV, p. 226.
51. *Brahminical Gods in Burma*. pp. 47, 57, 58, 84, 85 and 86.
52. The Ferhera Festival in Ceylon. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III. Sept. 1874. pp. 250-54.
53. *Ideals of Indian Art*, p. 68 and *Mandirera Kathā*, p. 34, by Gurudas Sircar.
- 54a. *Konārka*, Mr. Bishan Swarup. p. 4.
- 54b. Regarding the Puri Kusana coins. See R. D. Banerjee's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 109-110.
55. *Bhagavadgītā*, Ch. XV.
- 56a) *Ancient Geography of India* by General Cunningham, p. 585.
- b) *Bhilsa Topes*, Ch. XXVII, p. 351.
- c) M. M. Ganguli's *Orissa and her remains*, p. 406.
- d) H. K. Mahatab's *History of Orissa*, Jagannātha Dharma, pp. 505-526.
- e) *History of India and Eastern Architecture* by James Ferguson.
- f) *India and its Princess* by Luis Rousweet.
- g) *Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, N. N. Bose—Introduction, pp. 26-27.
- h) R. L. Mitra—*Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II.
- i) Hints on the significance and history of Jagannātha, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-3.
57. Nilakantha Das on the Hints on the significance and history of Jagannātha, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. VII, No. 1. p. 2-3.
58. Hints on the significance and history of Jagannātha, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. VII, No. I, pp. 2-3.
59. *Rasakallola*, Deena Kṛṣṇa Dās. Prachi Edition, p. 6.
60. *Origin and development of Sāṃkhya system of thought* P. Chakravarty, pp. 315-316.
61. *Ibid*.
62. *Tattvārthadhigama sūtra*, Ch. I, IX and Ch. VI, XIII.
63. *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, Śloka 21.
64. Hints on significance and history of Jagannāth, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 7. and Lord Jagannātha the Jeeṇāsana of Khāravela Inscription. Pamphlet published by the Jagannātha Temple Historical Research Society of Puri.



- 64a. "Jagannātha Pūjā" an article in Oriya by Pandit Binayāka Mishra, published in *Konārka*, 1st year 2nd issue, pp. 16-17.
65. H. K. Mahatab—*History of Orissa*, pp. 521-522.  
R. L. Mitra—*Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 135.  
Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 131-132.
66. Mahatab's—*History of Orissa* (Cult of Jagannātha) pp. 519-521.
- 66a. *Lalita Vistara*—Buddha wanted to be born in a Brahmin family.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. Sundarananda Vidya binoda "Sri Khetra" (in Bengali) p. 44.  
Purāṇas such as Varāha, Brahma-vaivarta, Viṣṇu, Bhaviṣya and Tāntric works such as Brahma yāmala and Rudra Yāmala.

#### CHAPTER IV THE TEMPLE AND THE ICON

The temple of Jagannātha (Plate 13) at Puri is one of the greatest religious monuments in India. It is situated near the sea-coast of Puri and the site of the temple is known as *Śrī Kṣetra* or *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* on account of its great sanctity. It is also known as *Śaṅkhakṣetra* (Plate 14) in *purāṇas*.<sup>1</sup> The exact geographical situation of the shrine is Lat—19°18'17" Long. —85°51'39". It is connected by road with most of the important cities in India. According to tradition, the temple was originally built by Yayāṭikeśārī, probably Yayāti II of the Somavaṃśī dynasty on the site of the present shrine. Another tradition attributes the construction of the temple to Anaṅgabhimadeva, grand son of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga.<sup>2</sup> The epigraphical records, however, fully prove that it was Choḍagaṅga who built the present temple. It is possible that the work of building of the huge structure was begun by Yayāti and completed by Choḍagaṅga. But, it is strange that tradition has given full credit for the structure only to Anaṅgabhimadeva and ignored Choḍagaṅga altogether. The conflicting traditions can be reconciled by suggesting that the contribution of Anaṅgabhimadeva in this respect was perhaps the most important and substantial one in the final stage of the temple construction. Another suggestion is that the tradition recorded in the *Madalapāñji* about Jagannātha temple is not about the present one at Puri, but the one erected by Anaṅgabhimadeva at Vārāṇasī Kāṭaka<sup>3</sup>, his capital.

The Orissan temple architecture which made a humble beginning before the 6th century A.D. had reached its perfection by the time the present temple at Puri was built. The idea of building huge temples with three sections before the Vimāna (*Jagamohan*, *Nāṭa maṇḍapa* and *Bhoga maṇḍapa*) had already gained ground in Orissa. One of the earliest temples in Orissa seems to have been the one with seven cut-pieces of stones built on the Mahendra mountain. The temple is very small and its date may be ascribed to the Gupta period.

Another early temple, found near the village of Padmapur in the Koraput District of Orissa, is known as *Nilakanṭhesvara* temple. To the north-west of the village Padmapura a low hillock with an ancient miniature temple on its crest is found. The temple is built in the style of the temple on the Mahendra mountain



—a structure of nine cut-pieces of stones forming the *bāḍa* and two plain tiers forming the *Pābhaga*. The *Āmalakasilā* seems to be a later addition. There is a small inscription on the right side of the entrance. Inside the temple a *liṅgam* of the late mediæval period is enshrined. We have already stated in the previous chapter how the name of Dharmakīrti, the well-known Buddhist monk, who flourished at about 7th or 8th century A.D.,<sup>4</sup> was found on the above temple. The temple is very old and may be dated back to a very early period.

The next phase of the Orissan architecture is noticed under *tri-ratha* type, that is, a projection in the centre of each face divides the walls-space into three, which gives room for a large niche and two smaller-flanking niches.<sup>5</sup> The niches are generally occupied by figures of the *Parivāra Devatās*. The small panels which frame the niches contain masterpieces in miniature and decorative carvings. The example of this may be found in Mukhalingam as well as in Bhuvaneśvara temples. As regards the Someśvara temple at Mukhalingam, even though it does not contain any inscription to fix its date, its architectural style places it in between the Mukhalingeśvara and Mukteśvara temples, the dates of which have already been fixed.<sup>6</sup> The Mukteśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara is a symbol of the beginning of the fully developed form of Orissan architecture.

Gradually from *tri-ratha* style the architectural style of Orissa developed into a *pañcaratha* style, of which the temple of Jagannātha is the finest expression, and here the perfection of this style is visible in all its aspects. The *pañcaratha* style consists of two *Anurathas*, two *Koṇakas* and one *Rāhā*. The idea of constructing a temple is to install a deity in it, and to offer the deity all comforts—divine as well as royal. This is in the way of extending him all facilities to live in a palace-like building with pomp and grandeur. He is to be regarded as a Royal Personage and therefore the deity is to be provided with (a) an audience hall (*Jagamohan*), (b) a dancing Hall (*Nāṭa-maṇḍapa*) and (c) a dining hall (*Bhoga-maṇḍapa*<sup>7</sup>). Besides, he is to be provided with horses, elephants, gold ornaments, silken clothes and a lofty abode (*Vimāna*) for his residence. All these adjuncts are to be found in the temple of Jagannātha. We have said that architecturally the *pañcaratha* temple had already developed and perfected itself in Orissa. When the present temple at Puri was built, it had its models both at Bhuvaneśvara and Mukhalingam. The great temple of Liṅgarāja must have provided a model to the builders of Puri temple. But, the temple of Jagannātha has some advanced features of architecture which cannot be found in the Liṅgarāja temple.

The Jagannātha temple is erected on a highly raised platform whereas the Liṅgarāja temple is of much lesser height. In the Liṅgarāja temple the



niches on the outer walls which were converted into miniature shrines in the Gaṅga period did not exist originally. At first there were only the *Rekha Deula* and *Jagamohana*, the *Naṣa-maṇḍapa* and the *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* being added to them during the Gaṅga period. But the Jagannātha temple at Puri was perhaps originally conceived with three chambers as well as the miniature shrines on the three outer sides of the Deula for placing the *Pārśva Devatas*.

Thus, the Jagannātha temple is a *pañcaratha* one with well-developed *Pagais*. The *Gajasimha* carved in the recesses of the *Pagas*, the *Jhampasimha* or the jumping lions are also to be found in their proper places. The *bāḍa* has all its subdivisions described in the canons of Orissan architecture—such as *Pāda*, *Kumbha*, *Paśa*, *Kaṇi* and *Vasanta*.<sup>8</sup> The *Bandhanā* and *Jaṁghā* are also found in their proper places. In other words, it is a perfect *pañcaratha* temple which developed into a *Nāgara-Rekha* temple. The *Vimāna* or the apsidal structure consists of several sections superimposed one over the other tapering to the top where the great *Āmalakaśilā* and *Kalasa* are placed. The purpose of the *Āmalakaśilā* is obvious. It is meant to keep the structure properly centred or balanced. The huge lions and other deities which occur below the *Āmalakaśilā* serve as the support in order that the *Āmalakaśilā* will remain in its proper position. Among the existing temples in Orissa, the temple of Jagannātha is the highest (214 ft. 8 inches from the road level).<sup>9</sup>

The reliefs of the Jagannātha temple are not so magnificent and artistic like those of the Līṅgarāja and the Koṅārka temples. But a few can definitely be compared with other beautiful Orissan sculptures. The *Dikpala* figures of *Varuṇa* and *Vāyu* which have lately been recovered from beneath the heavy *Cīnam* plaster applied to the *vimāna* (Deula) in comparatively recent times are fine pieces of Orissan sculptures. To save the temple from the effect of the salt-laden sea-air, a thick plaster was applied so that all the details of the sculptures remained hidden under it. Nevertheless, in the porch, several panels of interesting sculptures are to be noticed.

The temple has four gates and two very big concentric walls (*Prākāras* or *Āvaraṇas*) and thus is a *Dvi-āvaraṇa* shrine. The Śrīraṅgam temple of the south, another famous *Vaiṣṇava* shrine is a *saptāvaraṇa* one. The outer wall of the Jagannātha temple is known as *Meghanāda prācīr* (665 ft. by 640 ft.) and the inner one as *Kūrma Bedha* (420 ft. by 315 ft.)<sup>10</sup> The outer wall is not uniformly high, its height varying from 20 ft. to 24 ft. It has serrated battlement on its top. It is interesting to note that in the earlier temples in Orissa we get only one or two gates. In the Koṅārka temple there are three gates. But, in the temple of Jagannātha there are four gates both in outer and inner walls. The significance



of having four gates may be explained in the following way. The lord Jagannātha being the monarch, is supposed to live in His imperial abode which is necessarily a fort consisting of four gates in its four sides. The main entrance is called *Sīṃhadvāra* or the 'Lion gate' which is the symbol of strength. According to the ancient Indian practice of circumambulation (*Pradakṣina*), the sacred object should be on the right side of the circumambulator and thus the process of going round the temple is from east, south, west and north.

The southern gate is the next important one where the symbol of a horse showing the military prowess of the king is placed. The western gate is called *Vyāghradvāra* or the 'tiger gate' which signifies energy and the northern one is called *Hastīdvāra* or the elephant gate which indicates prosperity. But according to local tradition the four gates represent *Dharma* (Lion), *Artha* (elephant), *Kāma* (Horse) and *Mokṣa* (tiger). According to a different tradition the gates at different directions signify (1) *Dharma* (east), *Jñāna* (south), *Vairāgya* (west) and *aśvarya* (north). Worshipping of gates also forms a part of the daily ritualistic services of the temple. The priests do offer *Puṣpāñjali* saying : *Dharmāya svāhā, Jñānāya svāhā Vairāgya svāhā. Aśvarya svāhā* to the four gates.

The deity Jagannātha as the supreme Lord of the universe is the giver of the "Caturvarga" to devotees. So, through four gates the Lord distributes these four *vargas* (*dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*).

We have no historical evidence at our disposal to prove when the outer and inner compounds of this temple were constructed. But, from the temple chronicle (*Mādalāpāñji*) and local tradition, we know that these were built not earlier than the 15th century.<sup>11</sup> None of the temples built before the 11th century contains four gates like the temple of Jagannātha. So, it is clear that the architectural system of a religious institution was not followed in this case. The loftiness of walls proves that the temple had actually served the purpose of a fort. This is corroborated by the fact that at the time of the Mohammedan invasion the civilians as well as soldiers took shelter inside the compound when certain portions of it were damaged.<sup>12</sup> It is noticed that all the gates are beautifully ornamented, and *Navagraha* reliefs are carved on their architraves. In almost all the gates there are small images of *Śiva, Viṣṇu, Hanumāna, Durgā, Nṛsiṃha*. The wells were also dug in four corners of the temple. When we enter into the temple through the main gate (*Sīṃhadvāra*) we come across the beautiful *Aruṇa stambha* which was brought here from *Koṇārka* by the *Marahattās*.<sup>12</sup> In the 1st *torāṇa* of the *Sīṃhadvāra* at the right hand side there are the images of *Patitāpāvana, Hanumāna, Gaṇeśa, Kāśi-Viṣvanātha* and *Nṛsiṃha*. After entering into the outer enclosure through the *Sīṃhadvāra*, one gets into the 2nd *Prākāra* climbing 22 steps called *Bāisipāhara*.



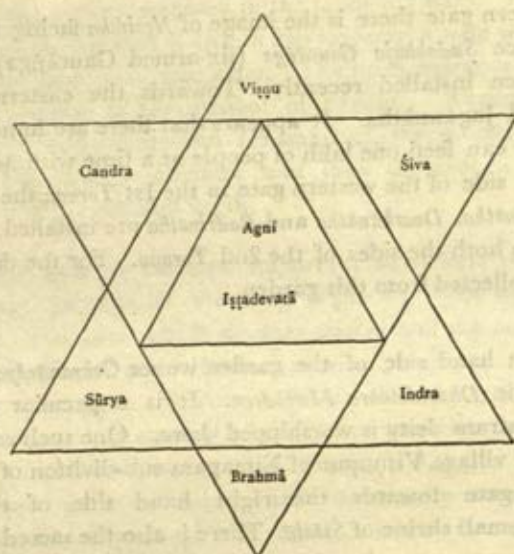
At the southern gate there is the image of *Nṛsiṃha* facing north. If we go a little further we face *Ṣaḍabhuja Gourāṅga* (six-armed Gaurāṅga) in a small shrine. This image has been installed recently. Towards the eastern direction there is the kitchen of Lord Jagannātha. It appears that there are hundreds of hearths in the kitchen and it can feed one lakh of people at a time with *Mahāprasāda* cooked in it. At the right side of the western gate in the 1st *Toraṇa* the deities, *Rameśvara*, *Mahādeva*, *Śrī Jagannātha*, *Dvarkānātha* and *Badrinātha* are installed. A flower garden has been put up on both the sides of the 2nd *Toraṇa*. For the daily worship of the deities flowers are collected from this garden.

At the right hand side of the garden we see *Cakranārāyaṇa* and *Siddheśvara*, and to the left there is *Dhavalēśvara Mahādeva*. It is a peculiar feature in Orissa that *cakra* as a separate deity is worshipped here. One such *cakra* image is found (*cakranārāyaṇa*) at the village Viṣṇupur of Nimapara sub-division of the Puri district. In the northern gate towards the right hand side of the foot of the 1st *Toraṇa* there is a small shrine of *Śītālā*. There is also the sacred "Sunā-Kuan" from which 108 pots of water are taken for performing the *Abhiṣeka* of Lord Jagannātha during the *Snāna Yātra*. At a little distance from the 2nd *Toraṇa* there stands a banyan tree, and on a raised platform there is the famous *Koeli Vaikuṇṭha* or *Kaivalya Vaikuṇṭha*. It is said that the deity *Nilamādhava* was residing there.

Now the inner *prākāra* (wall), the *Kūrma Vedhā*, starts. In this *prākāra* the *Āvaraṇa devatās* (deities surrounding the main deity) have been installed. Towards the eastern side there is a covered path leading to the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* from the kitchen through which the cooks (*Suāras* or *Sūpakāras*) bring *bhoga* to the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. There are three doors in this *maṇḍapa* and in each door (gate) there are *Navagraha* sculptures. At the south east of the covered path there is the shrine of the *Agnīśvara Mahādeva*. This deity is supposed to guard and supervise the kitchen. At the eastern and southern side we find *Satyānārāyaṇa*, *Vaḷagopāla*, *Sarvamaṅgalā*, *Vālamukunda*, *Vaḷabihārī-Jagannātha*, *Sveta Gaṇeśa*, *Satyabhāmā* and *Kalpavaḷa* (tree).

It would be interesting to note here that the process of cooking done in the kitchen (Plate 15) has some peculiarities. In the same oven nine earthen pots are placed and cooking is done simultaneously (Plate No. 16). According to tāntric texts<sup>13</sup> the number nine and multiplication of nine constitute the glorious features of the *Mahāprasāda*. The cooked rice prepared in any sort of kitchen cannot be deemed as *Mahāprasāda*. The *Vaiṣṇavāgni* formula is applied and 9 earthen pots are placed on the fire. The diagram of this *Vaiṣṇavāgni* is given below.<sup>14</sup> The cooking is started just after the *Vaiṣṇavāgni homa*.





The six deities are the *Āvaraṇa devatās* of Agni. The oven is lighted according to the *Vaiṣṇavāgni* rites. Here *Lakṣmi* is imagined as *ṛtumatī* and *Nārāyaṇa* is imagined as having been united with her. By this the fire is generated and with this fire the cooking is performed.

As per the nine divisions of the above diagram nine earthen pots are placed on an oven having nine mouths. When all the procedures are completed then the cooked rice etc. are taken to the deities to be offered as *bhogam* (Plate 17). This *bhogam*, after being offered to *Jagannātha*, is also offered to *Vimalā*, when *bhogam* (*prasād*) is automatically transformed into *Mahāprasāda* fit to be distributed among all. This system is *tāntric* in nature and is unique in character. Here the three *Brahmas*, namely—*Anna brahma*, *Dāru brahma* and *Nāma brahma*, are united.

In front of the southern side of the main temple stands the structure called *Muktimanḍapa*. It has sixteen pillars. In this *manḍapa* the Sannyāsīs of Śāṅkara maṭha and sixteen pandits belonging to the sixteen śāsanās established by the kings of Orissa, are allowed to sit and take part in learned discourses<sup>15</sup>. Any dispute arising out of religious matters with regard to worship is referred to this council of learned men, and their verdict is final. A little further from this *Muktimanḍapa* (which is also known as *Brahmāsana*), there is *Rohinikuṇḍa* with the image of *Sudarśana cakra* and *Bhuṣuṇḍī kākā* (crow). Close to the *Muktimanḍapa* there is the shrine of *Nṛsiṃha* who according to tradition is the presiding deity of the Jagannātha temple and this *Nṛsiṃha* temple is regarded as the earliest temple in the compound of the temple of Jagannātha.

Next what attracts our notice is the shrine of *Vimalā*. According to the tāntric tradition she is *Bhairavi*, the consort of Jagannātha who is also regarded as Bhairava (*Vimalā bhairavi yatra Jagannāthastubharivaḥ*<sup>16</sup>). After this the temple of *Bhuvaneśvarī* is situated and in between the temples of *Vimalā* and *Bhuvaneśvarī* there are small shrines containing the images *Venumādhava*, *Rāma*, *Sākṣigopāla* and *Bhaṇḍagaṇeśa*. According to tradition, this *Bhaṇḍagaṇeśa* was brought from Kanchi by Purusottama Deva after he conquered it.

The next important shrine which comes to the notice of the pilgrims is the shrine of *Lakṣmī*. We find beautiful carvings on this temple. Probably this is the temple which was constructed by Choḍagaṅga along with the main temple. In between the temples of *Bhuvaneśvarī* and *Lakṣmī* there is a small shrine with the image of *Nilamādhava*. Here the wooden image of Jagannātha is also placed inside just to show that this *Nilamādhava* has been transformed into this wooden image. To the left of the *Lakṣmī* temple there are *Navagraha* sculptures worshipped daily by the *paṇḍas*. Next we get the *Sūrya mandir* (the Sun temple) and to the north of this temple there are shrines of *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa*, *Dadhivāmana*, *Rāma Sītā*, *Patāleśvara*, etc. Then comes the famous *Anandabazāra* where the *Mahāprasāda* is sold daily to all.

It is now necessary to take note of the sculptural wealth of the temple along with its three sections. The *Bhogamaṇḍapa*, like the *Vimāna*, is also a *pañcaratha piḍha-dewla*. Its *anuraha-pāgas* are not of a superior type. It is made of yellowish sandstone rendered red by ochre painting. The chlorite figures, according to M. M. Ganguli, contained in the niches of the *baraṇḍī* (upper jangha according to N. K. Bose) are very significant as they depict various mythological scenes. Mention may be made of the following: *Dola yātrā* festival, in the niches of the upper *baraṇḍī*; *Śiva* on a bull, *Śrīkṛṣṇa* with flute, the grazing of the cows, etc. The twelve *yātrās* of the King have been depicted in various poses of this structure. These *yātrās* are also called *Kautuka yātrās* and generally attract the attention of the visitors. Just like the Lord the King of Orissa is shown in a variety of poses, taking part in various festivals.

The scene of *Kṛṣṇatīlā* from his childhood upto the prime of his youth has been depicted on the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. Besides these there are lots of erotic figures carved on this structure. Inside the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* no paintings are to be seen. What is peculiar here is that all the *Dikpāla* (the guardian deities of ten directions) images are carved along with their *vāhanas* and *śaktis*. The *Śaktis* are placed above the *Dikpālas*. In the temples of *Gaṅgēśvara* and *Anantavāsudeva* at Bhubaneśvara the *Śaktis* of *Dikpālas* are also placed above them.



Next comes the *Nāṭamaṇḍapa*. At the eastern side of it there is the famous *Garuḍa* pillar placed inside and from this position a front view may be taken of the main deities. Standing near the *Garuḍa* pillar devotees offer prayer to Jagannātha and other deities. It is said that inside this pillar there is the famous *Samantakamani*. That is why devotees of Jagannātha lean upon their chests on the pillar thinking that their diseases would be cured. When *Garuḍa* is bathed, people use the water for their own bathing purposes. This water is considered to be not only pure but also medicinal conducive to the cure of diseases. These convention and belief are still uppermost in the minds of the pilgrims. In this *Nāṭamaṇḍapa* *Devadāsīs* (Dancing girls of the temple) used to dance in ancient times, but now they are asked to perform dancing in the *Jagamohana*. Behind the *Garuḍa* pillar on the walls of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* there are interesting sculptures which generally attract the attention of the visitors to the temple. On one side of the wall there are sculptures of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (Plates No. 18 and 19). The peculiar feature is that Jagannātha is meant for being identified with the Buddha. The intention of the sculptor perhaps is to show that Jagannātha and the Buddha are one and the same, and the Lord incarnated Himself as the Buddha. Most probably the sculpture is of recent origin and it carries the influence of the famous *pañca-sakhās* who declare in their texts that Jagannātha at Nīlācala in the Kaliyuga will be born as the Buddha. But in the earlier purāṇas, Kāvya and in literature on rituals Jagannātha has never been described as an incarnation. "He is the combination of all the incarnations", so says Acutānanda Dās, one of the *Pañcasakhās*<sup>17</sup> in his "*Śūnya Samhitā*". In the Brahmanical literature He has been described nowhere as an incarnation of the Buddha. Of course we have stated earlier that the famous king and poet Indrabhūti addressed Lord Jagannātha as the Buddha himself<sup>18</sup>. Enquiry from temple authorities reveals that this idea of having the image of Jagannātha in place of the Buddha is a recent one.

On the other side of the walls there is the scene of Kāñci-Kaveri expedition of King Puruṣottama Deva. Balabhadra and Jagannātha are seen riding on two black and white horses respectively, whereas Māñikī Gopālunī (milk woman) is seen standing before the horses. According to tradition this Māñikī Gopālunī gave curd to Balabhadra and Jagannātha when they were setting out in disguise, for Kāñci to help King Puruṣottama Deva in the battle against the King of Kāñci. There are various modern paintings inside the *Nāṭamaṇḍir*. The picture of Śaṅkarācārya offering obeisance to God Nṛsimha is to be seen there.

*Jagamohana* is the main portico before the *garbhagṛha* or *mañikotā* (inner most apartment). Generally the devotees have *darśana* (visit) of the deities from here. In the outer portions of this structure no sculptures worth-mentioning are



found. At the southern gate of Jagamohana there are two figures of *Brahmā* (Plate 20) and four armed *Śiva* (Plate 21) nicely carved. The figure of *Brahmā* has four heads and carries a *kamandalu* in hand.

Next is *garbhagṛha* or *Maṇikoṭa*. This is the main part of the temple called *vimāna* where the wooden images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, as well as the emblem Sudarśana are installed on a raised platform known as the *Ratnavedi* or *Mahāvedi*<sup>19</sup> (16 ft. long, 13 ft. wide and 4 ft. high). According to tradition there are one lakh of śaṅgrāma-stones deposited inside this *Ratnavedi*. At the entrance to the *maṇikoṭa* there are two *Dvārapālas* known as Jaya and Vijaya. Sufficient space has been left in front of and behind the *Ratnavedi* for the devotees to perform circumambulation. The *Bhogas* are placed by the side of the *Ratnavedi*.

The *Vimāna*, as we have said is a *pañcaratha dewta* with the *Koṇaka pāga* showing nine *bhūmīs*. According to M. M. Ganguli, the recess between the *Koṇaka* and *anuratha pagas* is wholly plain except at its base where it shows a *rekha* representation. He further says, "The *baḍa* has the usual five parts, the *jaṅghās* show the characteristic five elements, the *bārāṇḍī* contains *piḍa* representations, the *bandhana* consists of three elements as usual, the upper *bārāṇḍī* is similar to the lower one".<sup>20</sup>

The faces of the *vimāna* are carved with figures of the Hindu pantheon. The figure of Rāhu is noticed at the top of the *rāhapāga*, and the figures of three main deities are also seen below the same. About 30 to 40 ft. below there is the figure of Hanumān, holding the branch of a tree. Other figures like *Kāliya damana*, *Nārāyaṇa* on the shoulder of *Garuḍa*, Lion over a crouching elephant (*Gajasimha*), *Nṛsiṃha* with *Lakṣmī* flanked by two *dvārapālas* etc. are seen on the *vimāna*. Above the *vimāna* the famous *Nīlacakra* is placed. It is said that it is made of *Aṣṭadhātu* (eight different metals).

The temple has been conceived as a yogic puruṣa. As there are eight-fold paths of *yoga* and a *yogi* is to pass through these eight stages, so also the temple has eight *aṅgas* (*Aṣṭāṅga*) such as (from below to the top) *pabhāga*, *bandhana*, *jaṅgha*, *gaṇḍī*, *garbha*, *beki*, *khapuri* and *kalāṣa*.

The images that are worshipped inside the *vimāna* are of two kinds : *Arcā* images and *Tattva* images ; but in the temple the carved images are of three kinds :

- (1) *Dhyāna mūrtis* according to Śāstras,
- (2) *Āvaraṇa tattva mūrti* according to śilpa sāstras,
- (3) Decorative images.



*Nārāyaṇa*, *Ananta*, *Puruṣottama*, *Vimalā*, *Lakṣmī*, *Bhuvanēśvart* come under the 1st category; *Kṣetrapāla*, *Tapasvimahāvirā*, *Vaiṣṇoṣṭheśvara*, *Pātāleśvara* etc. come under the 2nd category; whereas *Gopēśvara*, *Gaṅgā-yamūnā*, *Jayavijaya*, *Rāmābhiṣeka* *Yoganārāyaṇa* come under the 3rd category. There are three *Pārsvadevatās* (side deities) on the outer sides round the vimāna, on the north, south and west; they are *Vāmana*, *Varāha* and *Nṛsiṃha*. The *pārsvadevatās* are each placed inside a two-storied *piṇḍa dewla* built on the three sides.

The images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā (Plate 21A) are not made according to the *dhyānas* and to the iconographic texts. The traditional as well as the philosophical aspects of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha show that "he is visible and at the same time invisible; the *prakṛti* also conjoins with him along with the *Puruṣa*"<sup>21</sup>. (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Ch. VI, IV.). This is also supported by the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*<sup>22</sup>.

According to the Tāntric tradition, the devotee with a view to realising the significance of the form of Paramātmā (Universal soul) conceives Him as though devoid of arms, legs, eyes, etc. like ordinary worldly beings. He can visualise everything with supermundane movements. By this a noble attempt has been made here (in the temple of Jagannātha) to give a peculiar symbolic form to the Infinite<sup>23</sup>.

Let us now discuss about the materials out of which these images are made. The images are actually made out of *Nimba* wood. Wooden images are not commonly used for worship in shrines. But according to the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*<sup>24</sup>, *Nimba* wood is considered to be one of the best and most auspicious materials for making images of Viṣṇu.

The same purāṇa also says that wood of different trees will be used in making images by the different castes. *Suradāru*, *Śamī*, *Madhuka*, *Candana* etc. are auspicious for the Brahmins. *Aśṭa khadira*, *Tinduka* *Asvatha* etc. are auspicious for the Kṣetriyas. *Khadira* and *Candana* are auspicious for Vaiśyas, *Kesara*, *Sarjaka*, *Amra*, *Sala* are auspicious for Śūdras, where as *Nimba*, *Sriparna*, *Paṇasa*, *Arjuna* etc. are auspicious for all the castes. So the image of Jagannātha and His associates have been carved with *Nimba* wood as He is worshipped by all castes<sup>25</sup>. Further, the *Vaikhanasāgama* says that wood is of three types: male, female and neuter. *Nimba* belongs to the male category and as such it is considered as the strongest and the best wood material for construction of Viṣṇu images.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhita* while speaking about the making of images assigns importance to *Dāru*. The text lays down that by worshipping the wooden *vigrahas*, the



worshipper gets all the four things : *Ayu* (longevity), *Śrī* (wealth), *Vala* (strength), *Jaya* (Victory) ; whereas men get only one or two things by worshipping images made of other materials<sup>26</sup>, namely, *mani* (jewells) and stones. The earlier kings of Orissa were influenced by this and continued to have the images made out of *Nimba* wood. Other texts like *Vaikhānasāgama*, *Kāśyapaśilpa*, *Viṣṇu saṁhitā*<sup>27</sup> etc. also prescribe for the carvings of the wooden images<sup>28</sup>.

Again the images are divided into three categories by *śilpāśāstras*, they are—*Cala* (movable), *Acala* (immovable) and *calācala* (movable-immovable) and also *sthānakam*, *āsanam* and *sayanam* i.e. standing, sitting and sleeping<sup>29</sup>. Generally the installed images are not taken out of the shrine. Only *Arcā* images or *Utsava* or *Kautukaberas* are taken out for ceremonial purposes as their representatives. But in the case of Jagannātha and his associates the *mūlavigrahas* are taken out of the *Ratnavedī* twice in a year<sup>30</sup>—once during the *Ratha yātrā* festival and another time during the *Snāna yātrā*. During *Snāna yātrā*, *Abhiṣeka* of these images is performed.

It is evident, therefore, that these images are *Calācala* images. Further the wooden images without paintings and other decorations are not fit for worship. The colouring is made according to the *Śilpāśāstras* and *Agamas*.<sup>30a</sup>

According to *Nilādri Mahodaya* the image of Jagannātha is based on "*cakrayantra*"<sup>31</sup>. The wood used for making the image should be divided into two parts having 14 *bhāgas* above and 18 *bhāgas* below. The central portion (*jāmya bhāga*) should be of 10 1/2 *Pavas*. Each of the lotus feet should be of 15 10/16 *Pavas*. The remaining 14 *bhāgas* added to 50 12/16 *Pavas*, make 84 *Pavas* in height. (Jagannātha is 84 *Pavas* in height). Both the arms are divided into 12 *bhāgas* (parts) each and the portion of the arm which is concealed is of 28 *Pavas*. The side arms which are visible should be of 8 *Pavas*. The portion of the nose should be made 1/10 of the side arms i.e. 8/10 *Pavas*. The lower portion of the nose should be of 12 *Pavas*. The distance between the lower portion of the nose and the head, should be 25 12/16 *Pavas*. The circumference of the face should be of 30 *Pavas*. 4 *Pavas* should be set apart at the heart portion to install *Brahma*. The lower portions should be made beautiful.

The significance of prescribing the *Cakrayantra* for Jagannātha is evident from the colour of *cakra* as well as that of the deity, and the name *Cakraḍhari* given to Jagannātha. The image of Balabhadra is based on *Śaṅkhayantra*<sup>32</sup>. This is prescribed for Balabhadra as the colour of the *Śaṅkha* (conchshell) is white. So the sameness of the colour of the *Yantra* as well as of the deity is proved thereby. The wood for making this image should be of 85 *Pavas* (Balabhadra is 85 *Pavas* in height) in height which should also be divided into 32 *bhāgas* (parts). The area of the face



is of 31 *Pavas* and the upper portion of the face is 5 *Pavas*. The shoulders are of 11 *Pavas* and the heart is 9 *Pavas* in measurement. The central portion meant for *Brahma*, is 10  $1/2$  *Pavas*. The lower portion of it is of 18 *Pavas*. Each arm should be of 24 *Pavas*. The two *phalas* (sections) shining above the shoulder are each of two *Pavas*. The nose is of  $1/2$  *Pavas*. The length of the two arms, both the sides and the area of the face are of 21 *Pavas* each. The portion above the nose is of 18 *Pavas* and portion below the nose is of 8 *Pavas*. The forehead is 1 *Pava* and the head portion is of 5 *Pavas*. Subhadrā's image is based on *Padmāyantra*<sup>33</sup> and the significance is that the colour of Subhadrā is the same as that of *Padma* (lotus). Sometimes she is considered as Lakṣmī and *Padma* is the seat of Lakṣmī. The length of the wood is of 52 *Pavas* and the area of the face is of 15 *Pavas*. The face is 17 *Pavas*. The central portion is of 12 *Pavas*. Both the lotus feet which are concealed are of 17 *Pavas*. Each arm (which is concealed) is of 15 *Pavas* but both of the arms are joined along with the hip. Thus the side-arms are of 17 *Pavas*; both of these arms are raised upwards. The Sudarśana is based on the *Gadāyantra*.<sup>34</sup> The length of Sudarśana is 84 *Pavas* and the circumference is 21 *Pavas* (one *Pava* is equal to one inch in measurement). But it is very difficult to ascertain whether these measurements actually tally with the images. For want of opportunity we have been unable to measure them. But as a *Pava* is equal to one inch, the detail given in the texts may come out true. The eyes of Lord Jagannātha have aroused much interest. For, they are conspicuously round (*cakādolā*) whereas the eyes of Balabhadra and Subhadra are not round. The explanation of this lies in the fact that when iconographers (of the 12th century) made the images of the deities, particularly that of Lord Jagannātha they were guided by the then epigraphical records which describe the eyes of the Lord as round like the sun and the moon. (cf. chapter II, verse quoted on page 54).

There are many figures of deities in the temple premises; we shall only give the iconographic features of some of the important ones. Let us take up the figure of the Goddess Vimalā first (Plate No. 22). This image is made of stone. It is in the standing posture and is four-armed. The upper right hand holds *Akṣamālā* (rosary) and lower right is shown in the *varada* pose. The upper left hand holds a beautiful mermaid (*Matsyakanyā*). The lower left holds a *Panapātra* (drinking vessel). Vimalā is three eyed, and is wearing *Kṛita* (crown) and other ornaments. There are two female attendants, naked and fierce-looking, on either side.

The next important goddess is the four-armed *Bhuvaneśvarī* (Plate No. 23) seated on a white lotus in *Padmāsana* pose. She holds *aṅkuṣa* in the upper-right hand, the lower right being shown in *varada* pose. She holds a *nāgapāśa* in the upper left, the lower one being in *abhaya mudrā*. She is also three-eyed and has the crescent moon in her crest.



The four-armed goddess *Lakṣmī* (Plate No. 24) is seated on a white lotus in the *padmāsana* posture, holding lotuses in her two upper hands, the lower hands being in the *Varada* and *abhaya* poses. A few other images of *Lakṣmī* are shown holding *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in their upper hands. These types of images are found elsewhere.

It is interesting to note the iconography of some of the Mādhava images discovered in different parts of Orissa. In the Puri temple we have a Mādhava image (Plate No. 25) which according to tradition, is the original image worshipped by Viśvāvasu, and seen for the first time by Vidyāpati, the priest of the king Indradyumna. The four-armed image is in standing posture, the upper hands holding *cakra* and *śaṅkha* with a *gadā* in the lower hand marked with a lotus sign in the palm. The peculiarity of this image is that it is not attended by any *śakti* or other attendants. The figure is, however, decorated with the usual ornaments. There are several Niṣa-Mādhava or Mādhava images enshrined in temples at different places. Some of them are regarded older than the Mādhava images of the Puri temple. The placing of four emblems of Viṣṇu are not uniform in them, and it is likely that the variance in their features indicates that some of them at least conform to different *Vyūha mūrtis* of the God. The oldest of the Mādhava images is that of Nilamādhava of Gandharāḍi at Bauda (Plate No. 26). It is very interesting to the students of the Hindu iconography. The four-armed god stands on the lotus pedestal, holding a *cakra* and a *śaṅkha* in the hands, turned backward, one of the other two hands (right hand broken, it perhaps held *Padma*) holding a *gadā*. The image has an *aloka cakra* (sirascakra or halo) behind the head and wears *vanamāla*. The god is attended by two lotus-carrying female figures (his two consorts—Śrī and Bhū) on either side. The main image of Nilamādhava has long pendulous ears with ear-rings, curling hair, *upavita*, scarf and *trikacha*, waist band, armlets, *kīrti* on the head, and other ornaments.

Another Mādhava image at Nilamādhava village in Puri district is very famous. The deity is four-armed holding *Padma* and *gadā* in the back hands, and *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in the front ones. Another image of the name of Lalita-Mādhava (Plate No. 27) found in the Śobhaneśvara temple in a village in the district of Puri is also four-armed. But in the Alvaranatha temple at Brahmagiri (Plate No. 28) 14 miles distant from Puri, a beautiful image of the name of Janārdana Nārāyaṇa similar to the Mādhava images exists (Plate No. 29). There is a Nilamādhava temple at Kantilo, Puri (Plate No. 29A). It is not possible here to describe the iconographic features of all the Mādhava and Gopinātha images still being worshipped in the district.

The pārśva devatās in the main temple of Jagannātha as has been already stated are—(1) Trivikrama-Vāmana (Plate No. 30), (2) Nṛsiṃha (Plate No. 31),



(3) *Varāha* (Plate No. 32). In the Jagannātha temple the image of *Trivikrama* is shown in two different forms. Below the main image the dwarfish *Vāmana* is carved as receiving the gift of three steps of earth from king *Baḷi* accompanied perhaps by his wife.

The main figure of *Trivikrama* is four-armed having the usual decorations as other *Viṣṇu* images, and holding the four emblems in proper position. The right leg is shown firmly planted on the pedestal, while the left one is stretched upwards reaching as it were the *Brahmāloka*. A tiny figure of *Brahmā* is placed above the leg. The two beautiful female figures have been placed at either side of his, and, holding lotuses in their hands, are his *śaktis*.

*Varāha* :

This image is shown standing, its left leg is stretched forward, and the right leg backward just as in a fighting mood. The god is endowed with four arms, the back right hand holding a discus ; in the back left hand is shown the goddess earth rescued from the nether regions by the *Avatāra*, called *Varāha* with a *gada* and *padma* in hands. The *Avatāra* is pleasantly carved and is decorated with the usual ornaments.

*Nṛsiṃha* :

According to tradition, the image of this *Avatāra* represents the presiding deity of *Indradyumna*'s sacrifice, and is older than *Jagannātha*. The god is shown here with the demon *Hiraṇyakasyapu* stretched on his lap. The entrails of the demon are being extracted by the two front hands of the deity. *Nṛsiṃha* holds a disc in his upper right hand and a club in his upper left hand. He wears a *rudrakṣamālā* round his neck instead of a flower garland. His face is very fierce-looking.

Among the sculptures of the temple of *Jagannātha*, those of *Kṣetrapāla*, *Dvārapāla* and eight *Dikpālas* are worth noting. The *Dikpālas* are shown riding on their respective *vāhanas*, but they do not have their consorts by their side and are placed above them. The *Kṣetrapāla* and *Dvārapāla* images with their usual iconographic details are put in their proper places. Besides these there are reliefs on the outer side of the *Bhoga maṇḍapa*, which depict the king of *Purī* taking part in the 12 *yātrās*. It seems the king actually was performing these festivals along with the festivals of *Jagannātha*. They are—(1) *Dolotsava*, (2) *Kumārotsava*, (3) *Snānotsava*, (4) *Durgāmadhavotsava*, (5) *Vijayaotsava*, (6) *Abhiṣekotsava*, (7) *Sunautsava*, (8) *Gahaṇotsava*, (9) *Nandotsava*, (10) *Nāvakeliutsava*, (11) *Nṛtyotsava* and (12) *Rājotsava*. Notice may only be taken of four of these *Dvādasa-yātrā* reliefs.



(1) *Dola-utsava* (Plate No. 33) : The king is seated on a cradle which is fixed to an arch above with iron chains. He is accompanied by several female attendants ; two of them hold *cāmaras* and the others gaze at the swinging king.

(2) *Rowing festival* (Nāvakeḷi Utsava) Plate No. 34 : A beautifully decorated boat is being driven by five women, one of them standing on the prow of the boat with the rudder in her hand and the other four pulling the oars ; the sixth female attendant holds an umbrella over the king. There is also another female companion holding a plate, possibly of flowers. The king is seated on a *Dolā* inside a small pavilion in the centre of the boat.

(3) *Nandotsava* (Plate No. 35) : The king is seated inside a beautiful palanquine carried by his attendants. On one side nine bearers are seen ; on the other side only four are seen. Two female attendants holding umbrellas ride on horse-back on both sides of the king.

(4) *Vijayotsava* : Here the king is seated on the throne (*siṃhāsana*) to receive new year's blessings. He is served by five female attendants, one holding umbrella, another holding *cāmara* and the third one holding some offerings. Two *sanyāsīs* accosted by the *pratihārī* are shown invoking a prosperous new year for the king.

The most significant sculpture engraved on the Bhogamaṇḍapa at its northern side is that of Durgā Mādhava (Plate No. 36). Here Jagannātha is shown along with Śiva and Durgā. This shows a definite syncretic tendency. This motif is also present in the Konārka temple. In the same panel the king is shown accompanied by his female attendants. A peculiar feature in this panel is the presence of a bearded ascetic-like figure shown shaking hands with the king. The king might stand for Indradyumna, and the bearded male figure may represent the Śabara chief Viśvāvasu.

The obscene or erotic sculptures on the Jagannātha are very often criticised by scholars and visitors alike. It is therefore necessary to say something about this feature of the religious shrines. It is a fact that Jagannātha temple is not the only temple in which such reliefs occur. There are many other early and late medieval temples on whose walls are depicted such grossly sensual figures. In the earlier temples these mithuna sculptures are carved in smaller proportions, and put in obscure places not to be noticed by a visitor easily. But in some shrines, especially of a later period, the Mithunas are of bigger size, and are placed sometimes in prominent places of the temples. In the Konārka, the Jagannātha and some Khajuraho temples, much prominence is given to these motifs.



The *Bṛhatsamhita*, the *Purāṇas* like *Agnī* and *Matsya*, the *Āgamas* like the *Vaikhanasāgama* lay down that these erotic Mithunas are to be carved on the outer walls of these religious houses. The *Agnī Purāṇa* tells us that the last of the four *śākhās* (divisions of a temple) should be decorated with Mithuna figures (*Mithunai ratha vallibhiḥ śākhā śesam viśhūṣayet*). *Śākhās* have four subdivisions.—(1) *Urdha*, (2) *Madhya*, (3) *Antaḥ* and (4) *Adhaḥ*.

- (1) *Urdha* is *svarga* (Heaven) from *Āmalaka* to *Kalāśa* ;
- (2) *Madhya* is *Martya* from *Vekī* to *Simha* ;
- (3) *Antaḥ* *Pātāla* from *bāḍa* to *Simha* ;
- (4) *Adhaḥ* *Tolātala* from *bāḍa* to *Piṭha*.

The last is the 4th part (*caturthāṁśa*) i.e. the mithunas are to be carved in the section from *bāḍa* to *piṭha*.

There is a story in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*<sup>37</sup> according to which Indra was guilty of the sin of *Brahmahatyā*. He divided his sin into four parts and gave it to four units, (1) the earth, (2) the waters, (3) trees and (4) women. As regards the part which fell to the share of women, it was granted by Indra that they would always cherish the passion of love, though their monthly sickness would symbolize the part of the *Brahmahatyā* sin shared by them. Under Indra's injunction nobody should take away or disturb the love affairs of women when they are in union with men. This is also supported by *Pāraskaraguhyasūtra* *Garbhādhana-prakaraṇa*. Even the *Vajra* of Indra will never strike the structure such as a temple, where the *mithunas* have been carved. This *paurāṇic* story may explain in a way the presence of these human couples engaged in different sex acts indicative of their mutual love and passion. On the basis of this story, the carving of such scenes on temple walls can be regarded as prophylactic in nature. These *mithunas* assumed so much importance that in the *Tāntric* world they were worshipped. They are called *Yoginis*. The *Tantrarājatantra* and *Koulāvali tantra*<sup>38</sup> say that offerings should be made to the fifty *mithunas*. It is strange that on the *Anaṅga-trayadaśī* day the *mithuna* images on the temple of Jagannātha are actually worshipped. The first *mithuna* that is worshipped is *Anaṅgātūrā* carved on the outer northern wall of the Jagamohana.

Scholars like Maxpol Fouchet, Stella Kramrisch,<sup>39a</sup> M. M. Ganguli, S. K. Saraswati and many others have discussed at length showing the reason why these erotic sculptures are there on the temples. Mr. Foucher quotes the opinion of Georges Guette who goes so far as to say that these erotic pictures are symbolic equivalents of the mystic syllable "Om". When the two sexes conjoin, one satisfies the desire of the other; in the same way the symbol of 'Om' in the conjunction of its parts satisfies all desire. "There are various explanations" says Maxpol

Fouschet but all show that iconography of love can not be divorced from the spiritual and every day life of the Hindus. "The caturvarga (Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa) which the Hindus want to attain are very significant. Kāma stands for desire, passion and love<sup>39</sup>. There are others who think that these obscene figures carved on the temples represent Māyā in the shape of Kāma who always disturbs the devotees. If any one could surpass this māyā after having circumambulated the temple would succeed in getting a vision of Brāhmaṇ. Brāhmaṇ or Jagannātha resides in the Ānandamaya Kośa where there is no obscenity. The temple consists of *pañcakośas*. The last *kośa* is the *Ānandamaya kośa* where the Lord, Brahman or Paramātmā resides. That is why there is a long prevailing custom that a devotee has to pass by a series of gods and goddesses according a certain order before he comes to the garuḍa pillar wherefrom he will have a darśan of Jagannātha.

The Upaniṣadic background of the veneration or importance paid to the *Mithunas* may not convince or appeal to a scientific mind.

#### REFERENCES

- 1a. *Skandapurāṇa*, Utkal Khanda. The description of Śaṅkhakṣetra and the geography of the place has been given in this section of the *Skandapurāṇa*.
- b) *Prācin Utkal*, p. 478.
- c) This is also widely known as Śrīkṣetra and Puruṣottama Kṣetra.
2. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 229.
3. *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, 1949-50.
4. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, Int. pp. 25 by Dasgupta & Dey.  
The Buddhist monk Dharmakīrti defeated Kumārilabhaṭṭa.
5. *Mukha liṅga temples* by Douglas Barrett, p. 11.
6. *Ibid.* This temple has been dated about 950-975 A.D.
7. *Archaeological remains at Bhubaneswara*, p. 254 by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi.
8. *Cannons of Orissan architecture* by N. K. Bose, pp. 91-101.
9. *Orissa and her remains*, p. 417.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Mādalāpāñji*, p. 48—Prāci edition.  
According to the Panji the Kurma bedhā was built by Furuṣottamadeva in his 9th regnal year.
- 11a. *Utkal Sāhitya*, 25th issue, 2nd Jyestha—Year 1328, pp. 75-77.
12. *Prācin Utkala*, pp. 472-473.
13. *Mahātvaṁ Navagunitatvaṁ—Commentary of Bhāskaraya on Mahacatusastī Yoginī Ganasevitā* (Śārada Tilaka Tantra).



14. Sketch of Vaiṣṇavāgni—Meru tantra paṭaḷa III, śloka 52.
15. Orissa and her remains, p. 425 and *Prācīn Utkal*, p. 472.
16. *The śakta piṭhas* by Dr. D. C. Sircar, p. 12.  
Mention is made of Vimalā Piṭha and the deity Vimalā as Bhairavī. Tantra cūḍāmaṇi also supports this view.
17. Acutānanda Das—*Sūnya Saṁhitā*, p. 5.  
Avatāra daśa ehi dāru rūpa ehi dārure se lina Īsvara sākṣāte liḷāra nimante vije Ratna Simhāsana.
18. Jñāna sidhi of Indrabhūti—Gackwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIV, Chap. I, verse 1.
19. Puruṣottama Māhātmya O Tīrtha Parikramā, p. 8 by Brahmācārī Śānti Prakāśa published by Govardhana Maṭha of Śaṅkarācārya, Puri.
20. Orissa and her remains by M. M. Ganguli, p. 412.
21. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Ch. VI, verse IV.
22. Viṣṇu dharmottara purāṇa III, Ch. XLVI, verses 2-3.
23. Prapañcasāra Tantra, Ch. XIX, verse XIV.
24. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Ch. 131, śloka X.
25. Ibid and Vaikhānasāgama, Ch. VI, pp. 18-20.
26. Bharat Saṁhitā, Vol. II, Ch. LIX, ślokas 4-5.  
 .“Āyuh Śrī baḷajayadā dārumayi mṛṇmayi tathā pratimā  
 Lokahitāya maṇimayi sauvarṇai puṣṭidābhavati  
 Rajatmayi kīrtikari prajābhivṛṇim karoti tāmramayi  
 Bhūlābhaṁ tu mahāntam śaili pratimā athava liṅgam.
27. Vaikhānasāgama—Paṭala X, p. 35, Line 16.  
 Atha dhruva beram tāmrajam śaila ja vā vidhīyate  
 Dāravam vā mṛṇmayam sreṣṭham.  
 Kāśyapa śilpa—  
 Yārcā mṛddāru sambhūta mayah  
 Śrī baladāmati  
 Quoted by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Vol. II, Ch. 59, ślokas 4-5.  
 Viṣṇu saṁhitā—Paṭal XIV, p. 67  
 Tāmraja dhanaputrārthā maṇijā sukhadā bhavet  
 Dārujā śrikari jñēnyā mṛṇmayi sarva kāmāḍā
28. Vaikhānasāgama, Ch. XII, p. 40.
29. Ibid, Ch. XV, p. 47.
30. The deities are taken out on two occasions namely Snāna yātrā and Ratha yātrā.
- 30a. Vaikhānasāgama—Vārṇasārṅgskāram, Ch. XIV, p. 46.  
 Devesasya Aṅgam śveta sauvarṇam  
 Śyāmañjanam ca sarvānām śyāma varṇam vā kārayet
31. *Prācīna Utkala*, pp. 469-70 and Jagannātha Mandir in Bengali by Paṇḍit Sadāsiva Mīśra, pp. 77-78.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Bṛhat Saṁhitā Prasādalakṣaṇam, Ch. LV, Ślokas 10-16.  
 Śeṣamāṅgalya vihagaih Śrī Vṛkṣaih svastikaih ghataih  
 Mithunaiḥ patra vallibhiḥ Pramathaiscūpi sabhayet.
- 35a. Agni Purāṇa, Ch. 104, verse 30.

36. Vaikhāṇasāgama, Ch. XV, p. 48.  
Śivasamhitā, p. 45.  
Prānatoṣiṇī, p. 618.  
Gandharva tantra, p. 60.
37. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Ch. VI and VII, pp. 2-40.  
Pāraṣkaragahyasūtra Garbhādhāna prakaraṇa  
Taitirīya brāhmaṇa : *Bhābatinam lāṃmahantā jātakīryat.*
38. Kaulāvalī tantra, Ch. XXI, śloka 88-96.
- 38a. S. K. Saraswati's article published in "The struggle for Empire", Vol. V, pp. 652-53.  
Erotic pictures at Khajuraho, Stella Kramrisch, p. 10.
39. The erotic sculptures of India—Max Müller Fouchet, pp. 11-12.



## CHAPTER V

### TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION AND RITES AND FESTIVALS

The construction of the magnificent structure of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri and the installation of three deities therein assumed, in course of time, so much importance that it became necessary to maintain them in a very systematic way. But it must be noted here that the proper maintenance of the temple was certainly not an easy task. Many new systems were introduced with regard to the daily ritualistic services to the deities and this involved the establishment of an administrative machinery to look after the proper management of the temple. The Lord Jagannātha came to be regarded as the protecting deity of the world, consequently of Orissa and that is why he was given the epithet as "The Lord of the World". To every devout Hindu, therefore, he became the source of religious inspiration and guidance.

The rulers of Orissa also spared no pain to see how best the daily activities of temple can be carried on smoothly, and it is thus natural that many rules and regulations were enacted, from time to time, for the same. This administrative code of conduct helped much to maintain the discipline of the entire organisation of the Jagannātha temple.

The present temple as we have already said was constructed by Chodagangadeva, who, again, laid the foundation of the temple administration. Now when Anangabhimadeva came to rule Orissa he immediately took steps towards the better maintenance and administration of the temple. So we can safely say that it was during the time of Anangabhimadeva that the temple came to be considered like an institution which required systematic and disciplined administration. Anangabhimadeva was a king of great merit; he therefore foresaw that the temple could not be maintained properly unless a new life was introduced in its administration. For the smooth running of the different activities of the temple-organisation he donated many lands in favour of Lord Jagannātha, dedicated a large collection of jewellery to the temple, and introduced the system of *Chattisāniyoga*<sup>1</sup>. Previously there were only 9 *sevaks* according to the local

tradition. They are—(1) *Caru Hotā*, (2) *Pātra Hotā*, (3) *Brahmā*, (4) *Ācārya*, (5) *Pratihāri*, (6) *Puspālaka*, (7) *Dyatās*, the washerman and the barber. Each was given charge of some particular duty so that there would not be any mismanagement in the organisation. This able administration helped much to give an economic stability to the temple. *Chatisāniyoga* has three important *niyogas*, viz. *pratihāriyoga*, *suār* and *mahāsuāryoga*, and *bhitarachuniyoga*. These three agencies supervised the work of other temple servants and decided the mode of punishment to be meted out to them. Different types of punishment were meted out to the attendants of the Jagannātha Temple for the violation of their duties. Interference in other's duties was also not tolerated<sup>2</sup>. According to some there was one head for each *Niyoga* known as the *Nayaka*. From among these *Nayakas* three important officers were selected to accept the office as one *Adhināyaka* (President), *Kārji* (Secretary) and *Karāṇa* (Accountant). These three heads were actually managing the temple. Then again there were a few more *Nayakas* belonging to the *Chatisāniyoga* namely—*Chatisāniyoga Nayaka*, *Vitarchu Nayaka*, *Talchu Nayaka*, and *Baḍapaṇḍā*. They were also called *Adhināyaka* and above them there were *Mahāndayakas* who were responsible for the smooth running of the administration. If any *Vagāri* (a kind of temple servant) of the particular *Niyoga* did not perform his duty or created disturbances the head of the temple officers reported it to the concerned *Niyoga* for taking action. In these matters the king was the final authority.

Then came the *Sūryavamśi* kings (Rulers of Solar Dynasty).

Kapilendradeva, being influenced by the great legacy of Jagannātha, began to introduce still greater measures for the proper running of the temple. As he was a devout follower of the Lord he was not greedy like other kings in respect of the State as well as the deity Jagannātha and His temple. Similar instructions were passed on to his people not to disturb the peace, harmony of the State and that of the institution. All these are recorded in one of his inscriptions. This was a clear indication that perfect unity and amity were necessary for the well being of the temple-organisation<sup>3</sup>.

When we come to Pratāparudradeva we find a very interesting system introduced for the first time in the Jagannātha Temple. The great life of poet Jayadeva influenced him so much that the *Gītāgovinda*, his monumental work, acclaimed as a work full of religious devotion, was taken up by the king to be daily recited in the temple.<sup>4</sup> According to his orders this system came to be observed by the different sects of the Vaiṣṇavas. But this must be noted here that some particular chapters of the *Gītāgovinḍa* were proclaimed by the king to be recited at some particular hours of the day. This explains that possibly some disputes arose previously, relating to the recitation of religious works. And this procedure to recite the different portions of the work at different hours is still being followed.



Prataprudradeva's supervision of the temple management was a further step towards the smooth running of the temple. He also assigned specific duties in connection with the temple to different groups of Vaiṣṇavas.

But all credit must go to king Rāmachandradeva of the Bhoi dynasty without whom we could not have the present deities and the existing mode of worship at the Jagannātha temple. He infused a new life into the entire system<sup>5</sup>.

Then came a transitional period in Orissan history. The Moghuls were then ruling in India and Akbar, the then Moghul Emperor, sent Mānsingh as his emissary to Orissa to inspect, supervise and report to him all about the administration of the Jagannātha Temple as well as the State of Orissa. Mānsingh was impressed by the remarkably good management of the temple<sup>6</sup>.

The most important change made by the Moghuls in respect of the temple-administration was by way of tax levied on the pilgrims which was known as "The Pilgrim Tax". So we can see some interference by the Moghuls in respect of administration.

After the Moghuls came the Mahrattās. They were Hindus, and they refrained from doing any atrocity on the temple which was so very often committed by the Moghuls. They regarded Jagannāthadeva with perfect devotion. And although the Pilgrim Tax was retained by the Mahrattās they effected several improvements in the temple-organisation. The Mahrattās did not interfere with the internal affairs of the temple; on the contrary, several innovations were made by them like the construction of the famous Aṭharnaḷa Bridge.

The temple-administration improved during the British regime. They immediately took steps to assess the economic position of the temple. With care and precision they thought that the temple could not be given an economic stability unless the deficit amount was paid by the government. But what is curious is that this payment towards the deficit budget of the temple was not liked by the British Parliament where it was vehemently opposed<sup>7</sup>.

At first the British retained the Pilgrim Tax, but later on it was abolished. During this time the power of the king of Orissa began to dwindle; as a result the supreme authority of the temple-administration was vested not in the king but in a Superintendent appointed by the Government. For some reason or other the administrative power was again transferred to the king.



Hitherto no proper account of valuable ornaments and garments of the Lord was maintained. Thinking that this was quite arbitrary on the part of the temple-organisation the British took stock of the entire wealth and cared to see how best they could be protected. This action of the British was hailed by all<sup>18</sup>.

Then the British appointed a Collector exclusively for the Jagannātha Temple whose work was to see that all revenues in favour of the Jagannātha Temple were properly collected and utilised for the purpose of the temple. But later on this Collector was replaced by the appointment of the king in charge of this function. Thus the status quo of the temple was fully maintained by the British. Only some new improvements were made in order to organise and run the temple in a disciplined manner<sup>19</sup>.

The system of division of the entire temple-staff into many categories was first introduced by King Anaṅgabhimadeva as stated above. This system was not changed by the British, rather it was reoriented in the light of keeping proper records of the rights of the servants of the temple.

With regard to the worship of Jagannātha many new intricacies began to creep into the religious rites. The British did not interfere with the performance of these rites. They only properly supervised everything. In this way the different festivals which came to be associated with the Lord Jagannātha were encouraged to be observed properly by the people. Better police arrangements, looking after the public health, proper sanitary arrangement for the pilgrims as well as lodging houses for them, all came within the purview of the British administration. So we can say that the British administration of the Jagannātha temple perfected the entire organisation in a systematic way.

The executive function of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri was based mainly on four agencies. They were—(1) the paramount chief of Orissa or the Rājā of Puri and other tributary chiefs of the eastern states, (2) the temple functionaries, (3) the monasteries and the public at large, and (4) the State Government. The four agencies worked together for the smooth running of the temple-administration. So long as this system was observed in the past there was no mismanagement at all, but when the specific duties assigned to different attendants were violated there developed chaos and confusion.

The Rājā of Puri employed *sevakas* of various castes to do their respective caste occupations in the temple. Each caste group working in the temple set up its confederation or the *niyogas* and had a representative body nominated by its group to supervise the day-to-day function. Different attendants of the



temple were assigned different types of work. This division of labour imparted a democratic character to the entire organisation.

However, Puri is such a place where every faith of Hinduism converged. So the place came to be associated, in course of time, with innumerable *maṭhas* and *āśramas*. With the establishment of many monasteries at Puri they were given the opportunity to serve the Lord Jagannātha. Different *maṭhas* were assigned different duties. The duties assigned to a particular *maṭha* came to be exercised by that particular *maṭha* and no interference from any other *maṭha* was allowed. In other words every *maṭha* did its duty to the temple independently. But there were occasions when the proper exercise of the duties by various *maṭhas* as well as by the Rājā of Puri were grossly neglected. This resulted in the deterioration of the temple-administration.

Previously all disputes pertaining to the temple-administration were first referred to the Rājā of Puri who thereupon used to call the *Muktimanḍapa* (the assembly of paṇḍits) to pass the final verdict on religious matters. For giving decision on religious matters regarding worship of the deity the Head of the *Pūjā paṇḍas* also was consulted. They were called *Baḍapaṇḍas*. This system is still in vogue and the verdict of *Muktimanḍapa* is accepted even today. This *Muktimanḍapa* with *mahānāyakas* acted like the final judiciary in religious matters. The executive function of the administration rested in the *Adhināyakas* of the *chattisāniyogas*, whose supreme authority was, however, the king. The final authority is now vested in the Temple Management Committee. The legislative function was jointly executed by the *Muktimanḍapa* and the king including four *parichhās*. Thus the temple appeared like a legal person or self-contained viable institution which had three functions : judiciary, legislative and executive.

We can safely say that during the British regime there were signs of improvements in relation to the temple. But immediately after the independence everything went out of control, when, the government was compelled to pass the Jagannātha Temple Act (1952). This intervention by the government saved the entire institution from further deterioration. But disorder was noticed again, as a result the temple-administration was adversely affected. This prompted the government to assume the full control of the temple of Jagannātha.<sup>10</sup>

Now we should like to give here a very short account of some *maṭhas* in Orissa which have direct bearing upon the administration of the Jagannātha temple.

*The Oriyā Maṭha :*

This *maṭha* is responsible for making all arrangements for the *bhoga* in connection with the festivals that are observed in different months. During the *Rukminīharāṇa* festival this *maṭha* makes arrangements for the *pañktibhoga* in the *Jagamohana* as well the supply of *Kalāśāri* (Black Sāri) for the goddess *Vimalā*. The canopy (*chanduā*) over Lord *Jagannātha* and his pillows are to be supplied by this *maṭha*. The work of cleansing the *Siṃhāsana* is also vested in this *maṭha*.

The worn-out door-frames of the kitchen and the storehouse of the *Jagannātha* temple go to this *maṭha*, which, in turn, is responsible to replace them with new door-frames. In addition to this, this *maṭha* has other duties in respect of the *Guṇḍichā Mandir* and the *Rathas*.

*The Śaṅkarācārya Maṭha : (Plate No. 37)*

The priests of the *Jagannātha* Temple learn the art of ritualistic worship from this *maṭha*. That is, this *maṭha* is responsible for the education and training of the priests in respect of worship to the deities. After obtaining sufficient training at this *maṭha* certificates are issued to the priests. They are then, by an order of the king, entitled to enter into the priesthood. The system is no longer in vogue in the temple. The function is now done by *Muktimanḍapa*.

*The Rāmānūja Maṭha :*

This *maṭha* is responsible for performing the fanning of the deities. It also arranges *bhogas* for various festivals.

As to the rights of the *maṭhas* they enjoy some privileges with regard to the temple. They receive different types of *bhogas* after they are offered to the deities.

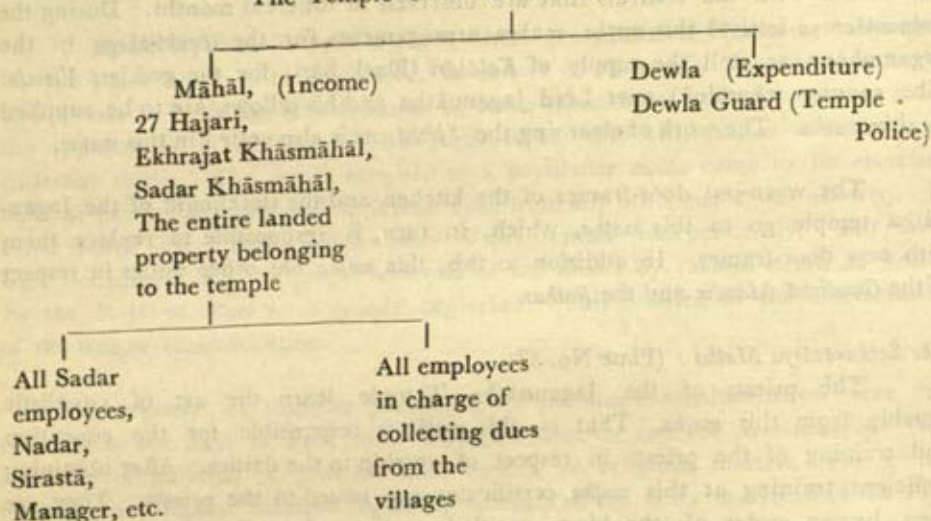
*The other Maṭhas :*

Other important *maṭhas* connected with the *Jagannātha* temple are the *Jagannāthaballabha*, *Rāghavadās*, *Shrivāmadās*, *Uttarpārīva* and *Dakṣinapārīva* *maṭhas*. Of these the *Jagannāthaballabha* *maṭha* is the most closely connected as this *maṭha* helps in organising various festivals in the temple.



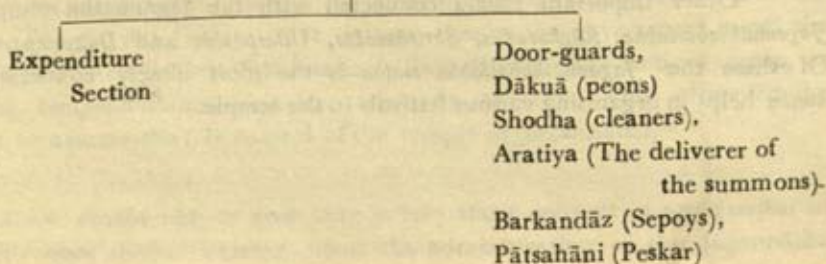
## ADMINISTRATION

## The Temple Office of the Gajapati King

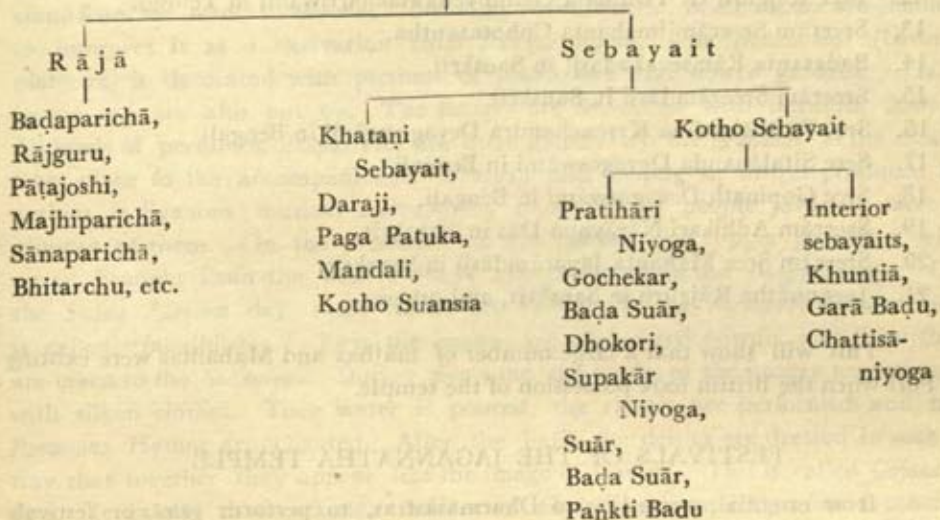


## DAILY ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEMPLE

This administration is carried on by the  
Nāyakas, Kārpadaḍārs, Sirastāḍars,  
Koṭhakarāṇas, Dewlkarāṇas



Dewla Garada (Temple Police)  
Sebayait Service



A large number of *maṭhas* belonging to different sects existed when the British took possession of the temple. This is evident from a letter signed by almost all the *mahantas* (Head of the *Maṭhas*) of various *maṭhas* of Puri. The letter is addressed to Lord Wellesley who was the then Governor General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal (vide Letter No. 345, Dated 24th July, 1804).

This letter was written in Sanskrit and was signed in different scripts like Telegu, Oriya, Tamil, Kanarese, Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi etc. by the following :—

1. Kṛṣṇacandra Mohāpātra Chhatisaniyoga Nayak in Oriya.
2. Jagannāthaji — The Adhikāri of the temple of Jagannāthaballabha Maṭha in Sanskrit.
3. Gurumukha Dāsaji.
4. Ramamahanta Ramaratna Dās.
5. Surdas Guruji,
6. Sree Indrabalji.
7. Sree Śrī Rāma.
8. Sree Gopālaji.
9. Chaitandasji — Mahanta, Bada Akhada. All of them have signed in Sanskrit.



10. Sreemat Ratnanrusinhachari Swāmi in Kanāḍi language.
11. Mahanta Saumyajamatraji in Sanskrit.
12. Sree Rājguru U. Tirumala Pichidivenkatachariswami in Telugu.
13. Sreerām Sreerāmjimahanta Chhotasantha.
14. Badasanta Rāmsevakadasji in Sanskrit.
15. Sreerām Sreerāmdāsji in Sanskrit.
16. Sree Rādhākṛishna Kṛṣṇachandra Devagoswāmi in Bengali.
17. Sree Sitalānanda Devagoswāmi in Bengali.
18. Sree Gopinath Devagoswāmi in Bengali.
19. Sreerām Adhikari Nārāyaṇa Dās in Sanskrit.
20. Sreerām Sree Mahanta Jayarāmdāsji in Sanskrit.
21. Jagannātha Rājguru in Sanskrit, and others.

This will show that a large number of maṭhas and Mahantas were existing at Puri when the British took possession of the temple.

### FESTIVALS OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE

It is essential, according to Dharmaśāstras, to perform *yātrās* or festivals for the installed deities. When *yātrās* or festivals are held, the people of remote parts of the country coming to witness them, often find pleasure in seeing the deities in procession. There may be devotees who are old, invalid and diseased and thus do not have the access to the Shrine<sup>11</sup>. All these people may be eager to have a *darśana* of the lords. To satisfy such people, festivals are observed. (Bṛddha Hārīta Smṛti and Āgamas). It is also stated that the performance of festivals in the temples removes fear of fire, famine, flood and epidemic. (Bṛddha Hārīta Smṛti, Ch. VI, Śloka 1-6).<sup>12</sup>

These festivals may be celebrated for five, seven or nine days. At times they may continue even for six months or a year.<sup>13</sup> In the Jagannātha Temple, several *utsavas* and *yātrās* are observed. During these *utsavas* and *yātrās* the *Archā* images (Plate 38) are often taken out in processions. This system of taking out the installed deities is called *Mulabera*, which is, however, a speciality in this temple. We are going to describe the twelve main *yātrās*; the rest will only be simply named at the end.

According to Nilādrimahodaya, Lord Jagannātha was born during the month of *Jyēṣṭha* on *Pūrṇimā* or the full-moon day. Śrīharṣa in his "*Naishadha Carita*" (XV. 89) refers to this festival of Puruṣottama. So on that day the *Snāna Yātrā* is performed. The images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra, along with the image of Sudarśana, are brought in procession to the *Snāna Vēdi*.



This procession is called *Pahandī* or *Pahandi-Vijaya*. Scholars have given different interpretations of this term "*Pahandī*". Some maintain that it has come from the term "*Praspaṇḍa*" meaning movement<sup>14</sup>. Some others are inclined to interpret it as a derivation from *Pāṇḍya Vijaya*. The *Snānavedī* (bathing platform) is decorated with pictures of jewel-trees and flower gardens. Flags, *torāṇas* etc. are also put up. The images are decorated with beautiful flowers. All kinds of perfumes, *dhūpas* etc. are then offered. As the '*Pahandī*' of the deities takes place to the accompaniment of music and beating of drums produced by various indigenous musical instruments, thousands of people jostle to have a glimpse of them. On the previous day 108 golden and copper pots filled with water brought from the well of Sitalā are preserved in the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. On the *Snāna Pūrṇimā* day, these vessels are brought to the *Snānavedī*. This ritual is called "*Jaḷādhībāsa*." First the images are offered red powder and then they are taken to the *Snānavedī*. During this time, the bodies of the images are covered with silken clothes. Then water is poured, the rituals are performed and the *Pavamāna* Hymns are chanted. After the bath, the deities are dressed in such a way that together they appear like the image of Gaṇeśa. This is called *Gajānana Vesa*. It is said that a staunch devotee of God Gaṇeśa and a profound scholar of South India visited Puri and he was rewarded by the King for his scholarship. That was the time of *Snāna Yātrā*. The king asked the scholar to accompany him to see Lord Jagannātha which the scholar refused under the pretext that he would not worship any God other than Gaṇeśa. Somehow he was persuaded and brought before the *Snāna Vedit*. To the surprise of all, Lord Jagannātha gave *Darśan* to the scholar in the form of Gaṇeśa. Therefore during the *Snāna Yātrā*, when the sacred bath is performed, the deities are dressed like Gaṇeśa. Various reasons for the *Gaṇeśa Vesa* (dress) are assigned. After the sacred bath the colours of the images are generally washed away. Seeing the wooden images without proper colouring the devotees may not have the appropriate devotional attitude and in fact may feel a sinful repugnance. For that reason, the images are dressed as Gaṇeśa in such a way that the devotees hardly observe the discolouration resulting from the *Abhiṣeka*.

This is the first Annual *Yātrā* of Jagannātha. Generally the deity Gaṇeśa is worshipped at the beginning of every religious rite and ritualistic worship. Because of this reason, Lord Jagannātha is decorated as Gaṇeśa during this time. Often Gaṇeśa is considered as a form of Viṣṇu.

After the *Snāna Yātrā*, the images of Jagannātha and others are kept away from public view for fifteen days without proper daily worship and they are kept on the *Ratna Vedit* inside the temple<sup>15</sup>. This is the period which is called "*Anabāsara*",



meaning improper time for worship. Already we have stated above that the images are discoloured as a result of the sacred bath. During these fifteen days the "Daitās" (who are the descendants of *Viśvāvasu*, the Savar Chief) colour the images and make suitable decorations. The period of colouring and decorations of the images is divided into seven short periods, each of two days' duration, and a short period of one day for finalising the colouring is kept apart. Thus the period covers a fortnight. On the 16th day the images become fit for being worshipped in their new forms after renovation. The festival of the first appearance of the Lord Jagannātha to his devotees is called *Netrotsaba* or *Navayauvan* (new life). According to the *Śilpaśāstras* and *Āgamas*, the images become suitable for worship only after the performance of the rites of "*Cakṣurumilana*" or the opening of the eyes<sup>16</sup>. During "*Anābasara*" the "Daitās" offer to the deities only fruits and water mixed with cheese. According to them the deities do not keep well and therefore they take rest for the period. In fact they are considered to be ill and are treated by the *Rāja Vaidya* or the King Physician with a specific medicine.

Now let us describe the famous *Ratha Yātrā* or the Car-festival which is observed on the *Āṣāḍha Śukla Dwitīyā* i.e. the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Āṣāḍha*.

The celebration of *Ratha Yātrā* during the rainy season is significant. The sages are of opinion that the term '*barṣa*' (year) has been literally derived from the term '*barṣa*' or rain and this prolific rainy season leads and represents all the seasons of the year. Rain appears as the harbinger of hilarity and vitality for humanity. In "*Śatāpatha Brāhmaṇa*" (III. 2) the rainy season is wonderfully admired. Hence the car-festival is being celebrated in rainy season.

The rainy season is symbolic and microcosmic of all other seasons of the year. The eastern wind in this season symbolises *spring*, the rain showers naturally denote the rainy season where the lightning flashes in it produce the autumnal effect, the break in rain indicates '*hemanta*' and above all, the alternate currency of heat and cold reminds one of summer and winter. Hence the rainy season represents all aspects of the natural seasons and appears as an entire organic whole. In the said work (*Śatāpatha Brāhmaṇa*—IV.2), an interesting legend regarding the origin of the *Ratha* is to be found. The car of the lord was in heaven long back. It was not to be noticed on earth. The legend says, the car originated on earth right from the battle between *Indra* (the King of heaven) and the demon *Brutrasura*. When *Indra* violently flung the weapon of lightning on the body of the demon, the weapon was divided into four parts,



The third part was metamorphosed into a chariot. Possibly the term 'Ratha' or chariot gained currency on earth since that day and gradually the process of its making was initiated. Indra is taken to be lord of rains and thunder. As the car is supposed to have been created out of his weapon, the car-festival at the beginning of the rainy season is mythically justified.

Besides 'Nandighoṣa' the car of the lord Jagannātha (Plate No. 39) has another name called the "Garuḍadhwaḡa". As has been already stated, the car of Lord Baḷabhadra is named as "Tāladhwaja". The mystery behind the formation of this car is still unsolved. Baḷadeva is the incarnation of "Śeṣa", the holy infinite serpent on whom lord Viṣṇu takes rest. It is said that Lord Baḷabhadra places a mirror of wisdom on His altar below and receives a view of the entire universe through that. As the mirror is placed below (*tala*) it is called 'tāḷa'. Besides, pure and transparent qualities of the mirror are symbolically observed in Lord Baḷabhadra Himself, who is, therefore designated as 'Tālanka'. In this way His car is named as 'Tāladhwaja'. The outline of a mirror is perpetually found in the banner of the car. The car of goddess 'Subhadrā' is called both "Devadalana" and "Padmadhwaja". Goddess Lakṣmī who is identified with Subhadrā is again called Padmā (the goddess on the lotus). Subhadra represents wealth, prosperity and grace (Śree). Hence there is the lotus profile in the banner of her car and it is called 'Padmadhwaja' too. On the eve of the car festival, the cars are virtually worshipped and the wind and other deities are admirably invoked. It is believed that such deities descend into the cars and protect the cars for nine days. Hence the three cars are considered as divine during this time. The tradition is, all categories of people ought not to ascend these. In *Purāṇas* various rules and directions of ascending the cars have been mentioned. It is said that the protection of the cars for full nine days is much more important than all sorts of worship and meditation before the deities therein. It is enjoined to safeguard and protect the attires, decorations, the weapons, the 'Pārśva Devatās' placed in the cars when these move.

When the hilarious people drag the cars with the help of ropes, they are advised not to drag these speedily either out of excitement and fun or out of exhibiting their strength indicating lack of respect for the cars. To drag the cars in high speed is unconventional, which is discouraged. As the hymn says :—

[The car ought to be  
Dragged very slowly  
And the Holy wheels  
Shall move slowly.



And with sounds.  
Of universal love.]  
Śaneḥ Śaneḥ ratho neyo  
rath snehāṭu cakṛna

(*Sūrya Purāṇa*)

In this way the Gods descend into the cars and gradually seat themselves in the cars in supreme comfort. Hence the Gods get rest and poise if the cars move in a slow, sober manner. If the cars move otherwise, there might be some harm and it is believed that if by chance, some part of a car is damaged, it leads to disaster for the country and humanity.

It attracts people from different parts of India, nay from the world. Hundreds of foreigners too flock to Puri on this occasion.

After a particular kind of *bhog* is offered to the deities, they are brought to the Chariots one by one (Plate No. 40). The Chariots are kept ready on the day before the *Ratha-Yātrā* ceremony and they are placed in front of the *Singhadwār* (the lion's gate) facing North. They are placed in a row, the car of Baḷabhadra being in the first position, after which come the cars of Subhadrā and Jagannātha. Just before the carrying of the deities from the temple to the Chariots they are adorned with flower crowns and their mode of exit from the temple is known as *Pahandi*.

Jagannātha's car "*Nandighoṣa*" stands 45 feet high and is supported on 16 wheels each with a diameter of 7 feet high and is beautifully painted in yellow. "*Taladhwoja*" is the name of Baḷabhadra's car which is 44 feet high and is blue in colour while Subhadrā's car known as "*Darpadalana*" or "*Devīratha*" is 43 feet high and is dark-red. The colour of the covering cloth of the Rathas is prescribed according to the colour of the dresses the deities generally wear. Jagannātha is conceived by some as Kṛṣṇa who wears *Pitāmbara* or yellow cloth. Baḷabhadra is '*Nilāmbar*' clothed in blue whereas Subhadrā is conceived as Śakti, the red-robed mother-goddess. So the colour is scarlet. Inside these cars are installed the deities decorated in golden garments.

The cars do not start immediately after the installation of the three deities unless the Rājā of Puri, the descendant of the builder of the Jagannātha Temple comes in a palanquin, pays homage to the deities and sweeps the platform of each car one by one (Plate No. 41). This process is called as "*cherā panharā*" (sweeping of the floor of the chariot).

Then comes the most auspicious moment. Thousands of people seize the huge ropes and begin to pull the cars (Plate No. 42). The cars grind forward

slowly along the Baḍa-dāṇḍa or the main road till their journey ends at *Gundicha Mandir*, at the end of the road. Baḷabhadra being the eldest, his car is drawn first. Then follows the car of Subhadra, Jagannātha's car moves behind the two.

After the seventh day of their stay at the *Gundicā Mandir* (Plate No. 43) which is the Lord's garden house, the deities make their return trip or "*Bahuda-Yātrā*". On the Ekādaśī day the deities are ceremonially dressed which is called *Sunāvesa* (Plate Nos. 44, 45, 46).

It is a widely known fact that great religious importance is always attributed to the construction as well as the final consecration of the *Rathas* or the Chariots. The construction of the *Rathas* begins with the *Vanajāga* ceremony on the day of *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* and the *Rathas* are made only of Śāla wood supplied by the Rājā of Dasapallā (Now of course, the Government of Orissa supplies the wood).

As has been said before, every religious rite of this sacred place, *Nīlācala*, has some unique significance of its own. Indeed, every ritualistic performance breathes nobility and sanctity and always takes place according to the religious scriptures.

The construction of the *Rathas* from the *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* day, the christening of the cars, the different bases of the cars, perhaps every thing bears some deep religious and philosophic significance.

The *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* day heralds the commencement of *satyayuga* and as it conjures up a sacred idea because of its association with *satyayuga*, that may perhaps well explain the reason why the construction of the *Rathas* starts on that day.

The conception of the body as a *Ratha* is found in the Upaniṣad.

"*Ātmānam rathinam viddhi śariraṁ rathameva tu*".

The Vedas, the Tantras and the Purāṇas—all speak about the infinite nature of the Supreme Being. The *Srimad Bhāgavat*, while giving an account of the 24 incarnations of the Lord, mentions His first incarnation as *jīva-svarūpa*. This *jīva-svarūpa* nature is but the first *apurvāvatara* of that Eternal Being.

The structure of the *Ratha* has been taken as the gross body of this material world, while the *Paramātman* or the Supreme Being, in the *caturvyūha*



manifestation of *Vāsudeva*, *Sankarṣana*, *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha*, is believed to ascend the Rathas. This opinion is held by many scholars. Again, it is believed that the creation of this material world starts at the end of *Mahāpralaya* or the great universal cataclysm. So the *Akṣaya Tīthī* day, because of its association with *satya-yuga*, is the most suitable day for the beginning of the construction of the Rathas or the outer bodies of all beings. The importance of *Akṣaya Tīthī* as the most auspicious day for sowing medicinal seeds has also been widely acclaimed in the scriptures.

All people, irrespective of caste, creed and religion can of course get maximum facility as to the seeing, touching and worshipping of the Lords placed on Rathas. This is possible because the evil of untouchability is conspicuously absent here.

The worship of the deities on the Rathas (cars) during the *Gundicā* and *Bahūḍa Yātrā* is associated with offering of non-cooked food stuffs like milk, ghee etc., while for the remaining seven days all the rituals are performed in the manner of those performed inside the Jagannātha temple, and cooked food-stuffs are offered as usual.

Now, if the reason for holding *Adhamatāraṇa-Yātrā* (the festival for the redemption of the ill-fated people) for a period of nine days is investigated, it will appear that the nine days correspond to the nine marks on each foot of the Lord which are nothing but the elementary and abstract properties or the creative manifestations of this material world.

The subject of the present discussion is, however, about the structure of the three Rathas (cars) of Śrī Jagannātha of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. The car of Śrī Jagannātha has 16 wheels indicating 16 *kalās* or divine principles of the Lord.

The Supreme being, in order to assume His *Jīva-svarūpa* nature, created this living world with the help of five subtle elements and eleven perceptive organs. These five subtle elements and eleven organs eventually led to signify 16 *Kalās* or principles of God. These 16 emanations, permeated by *māyā*, found expression in creating *avatāras* or incarnations which God desired to create.

As has been said above, the name of the Ratha is *Nandighoṣa* (Plate No. 47). The Charioteer is known as *Mātali*. The four horses are known as *Sankhikā*, *Rocikā*, *Mocikā*, *Jwālinī*. The *Kalās* are 16 in number. There are 16 *Aras* or axles. The presiding *Rṣi* of the chariot is *Pāṇḍu*. The car of Subhadrā is termed as

*Devi-Rātha* or *Devidalana*. It has 12 wheels representing the twelve months. The Charioteer is known as *Devadatta*. The Horses are *Prajñā*, *Anujñā*, *Ghorā* and *Aghorā*. The *Kaṭās* are twelve in number. It has 12 axles or *Aras*. The presiding *Ṛṣi* is *Yajñabalka*. Baṭabhadra's car is called *Tāladhwaja*. It is supported on 14 wheels, which indicate the life-time of Brahmā involving caturdaśa-manvantara. Baṭabhadra is the Lord of this gross material world, and has, therefore, a huge body. He is thus *Virāṭa*. The Charioteer is known as *Tāladhwaja*. The horses are *Rg*, *Yajur*, *Sama*, *Atharva*. There are 14 *kaṭās* or wheels representing the fourteen worlds. The *Aras* are 14 in number. The presiding *Ṛṣi* is *Āṅgirā*.

On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Āṣāḍha*, the *Śayana Utsava* or sleeping ceremony is performed. Previous to that day the 'Adhivāsa' rites are performed. At night the representative images (small golden images) *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa*, *Anantavāsudeva* and *Bhubaneśwari* representing Jagannātha, Baṭabhadra and Subhadra respectively are brought to the well-decorated sleeping chamber and placed on the cots. They are all four-armed with usual attributes. They are invoked with the prayer 'Oh Lord, do please sleep for four months for the welfare of the universe.' Then they are laid on their respective cots.

On the day the sun begins to move to the Equinox a festival is observed which is called *Dakṣiṇāyana Yātrā*.

A popular festival known as *Jhulana Yātrā* is held in the precincts of the temple of Lord Jagannātha. On the *Muktimanḍapa* platform, which is elaborately decorated, the *Jhulana Yātrā* is held from *Daśamī* upto the *Pūrṇimā* day in the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. Madanmohan is placed in a beautiful ornamented swinging chariot. The festival is also held in the different *Maṭhas* (Monasteries).

On the *Haribāsara* day or the 11th of bright fortnight of the month of *Bhādrapada*, the '*Pārśvaparibartana*' (turning of sides) festival is performed. On this day at evening, after the usual rituals, the God is requested to change the side.

Again on the 11th day of bright fortnight of the month of *Kārtika* the gods are awakened from divine slumber. This festival is called "*Probadhana Yātrā*" or rising ceremony.

On the 6th day of the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśīra* the deities are dressed in winter garments. This festival is called '*Prāvaraṇa Utsava*.'

On the full moon day of month of *Pauṣa*, a *Yātrā* called *Puṣyābhiṣeka* is performed. During this festival the same rites such as *Adhivāsa* etc. are per-



formed as in *Snāna Yātrā*. Pots filled with perfumed water are taken from Bhoga-maṇḍapa to the Ratnavedī. This *Abhiṣeka* is performed for the representative deities like Rām, Sitā and Lakṣmaṇa. That is why this festival is also called *Rāmābhiṣeka*.

Then the *Uttarāyaṇ Yātrā* is performed on the *Makara Saṅkrānti* day when the Sun moves towards the southern equinox. The next important yātrā is the *Dola Yātrā*. The *Arcāberas* or the representative deities are taken out to *Dola Vedit* (Plate No. 47A) and the swinging festival is performed. This is called as *Vasantotsab* which was introduced during the reign of Narasiṃha Deva, the grand son of Ramchandra Deva, who was popularly known as Abhinava Indradyumna. This is according to *Vasantotsab kāvyā* of Haḷadhara Mishra. The book is still unpublished. Another yātrā, called '*Damanaka*' is also observed when *Damanaka* plant is offered to the images. This is observed in the month of Caitra.

The last of the annual festivals which lasts for 21 days is called *Candan Yātrā*. The entire road from the shrine of Jagannātha upto the Narendra tank along with houses on both sides is decorated. At some places big toraṇas are erected where the images take casual rest and receive offerings. The images of Madanmohan, Goddess Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are taken in palanquin by the sevakas to the Narendra Sarovara. These images are followed by different deities from different shrines. After reaching the Narendra tank, the images are placed in different well decorated boats and they are rowed for a long time by the Sevakas (Plate No. 48). During this rowing ceremony *devadāsīs* (the temple dancers) dance and sing in the boat. Generally the colours of the boats are white and red. The peculiarity of this ceremony is that Madanmohan with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī rides on the white coloured boat whereas Rāmakṣṇa with Pañca Śiva rides the red boat. All the deities on the boat take trips in the tank for several times. Some of the festivals observed in the Jagannātha temple excepting Prāvaraṇa Utsava are also performed in other Vaiṣṇava temples of South India which follow the Vaikhānasa and Pañcarātra Āgamas.<sup>17</sup>

The Goddess Lakṣmī has been housed in a separate shrine in the precincts of the Jagannātha Temple at Purī. From the traditional mythological point of view, she is regarded as the Mother of the Universe and the possessor of the wealth of all the three worlds. But according to common belief, as recorded in legend, her nature and behaviour are like those of an Oriya house-wife. She herself cooks and serves, it is said, her husband, her brother-in-law and sisters-in-law. She does not appear before her elder brother-in-law like an Oriya house-wife. Therefore, the image of Lakṣmī is never carried close to the throne



of the Lord because there stands Lord Baḷabhadra, elder brother of Jagannātha. Lakṣmī is not only an ideal, devoted wife but she is also lovely and touchy. Sometimes she behaves like a sensitive Oriya housewife with her husband for lack of mental understanding. This sensitiveness and touchiness by Goddess Lakṣmī is best manifested on two occasions : first, on the "*Hera Pañcamī*" day (fifth day) on the journey to *Gundica* temple and second, on the return journey of the Lord Jagannātha. This latter occasion is usually known as the festival of "Opening the door".

The Lord Jagannātha launches his car festival accompanied by his brother and sister, Subhadrā. Lakṣmī is deprived of this pleasant privilege. Thus, on the *Hera* (beholding) *Pañcamī* (fifth day) this aggrieved and lovely wife, starts secretly for the *Gundica* temple in a fighting and angry mood. In her impotent anger, she breaks up one of the several wheels of Lord Jagannātha's car and comes away as surreptitiously as she had gone.

This fine psychological insight into a woman's mind also reveals one of the typical features of Oriya culture and the Oriya woman's place in it. A woman has a rightful share in her husband's happiness. If the husband neglects her, and forces upon her a separation not in accord with her wishes, her natural reaction (in spite of her noble birth and breeding) would be jealousy and anger. Besides, such a separation does not augur well for either of them. Thus, Lakṣmī is depicted as '*Adhīrā Nāyikā*' the aggrieved heroine.

Nine days after, when Lord Jagannātha returns home, Lakṣmī shuts the door on Him on the ground of her undeserved deprivation. The King of Puri, however, tries to patch up the misunderstanding by arranging a meeting of reunion between them known as *Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Bheṭ*. An elephant is sent to fetch her from the temple which she promptly declines. However, when the offer is renewed, she comes in a palanquin to meet her Lord. But her feelings are hardly assuaged, and she nurses her neglect and humiliation. Thus, when the Lord appeals to Lakṣmī to open the door, the Goddess replies, "You are the Lord of all the three worlds, why do you come here? Take back your sister with you, for left alone she may feel the pangs of separation." The Lord tells her, "I had with me my elder brother, Baḷabhadra. How could you accompany me?" And then to pacify her the Lord promises her valuable gifts. But Lakṣmī says she does not deserve all those for she comes of a poor family. In the end, the insistent appeals of the Lord make Lakṣmī open the door and take him in.

Every year, on the occasion of the return journey, this ceremony is observed. 'Devadāsīs' represent Lakṣmī, whereas 'Daitas' represent Jagannātha. In



the musical exchange of words, śloka in Sanskrit are recited and the dialogue continues in the presence of the countless devotees.

Another interpretation as to why Lakṣmī could not accompany the Lord during the car festival to Gundica mandir is given by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas or the followers of Caitanya. According to them, the Gundica mandir is regarded as Vṛndāvana, while Lord Jagannātha is regarded by them as Lord Kṛṣṇa himself, and this Car Festival is taken as His journey to Vṛndāvan. Vṛndāvan is exclusively the abode of the Gopīs. None else can take part in the Divine sports of the Lord with the Gopīs, let alone Lakṣmī. According to *Srimad Bhāgavata* (X. 16.32 and X. 47.60), Lakṣmī once practised severe penance to take part in the lovely sports of *Rāsa Līlā*. But as she was the Queen of the Lord of *Vaikuṇṭha* and the Goddess of *Aisvarya*, she was not allowed. Thus Vṛndāvan is the abode of unmixed *Mādhurya* or unalloyed, pure love.

There is an interesting conversation between Caitanya and Swarūpa Dāmodar Goswāmī narrated in *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (Madhyalīlā, Ch. XIV) regarding Lakṣmī, the aggrieved consort of Lord Jagannātha and her intriguing behaviour as she goes to Gundica mandir in a warlike fighting mood rather than nurse her pangs of separation as a *Mānint-Nāyika*.

Of the twelve festivals held in connection with Lord Jagannātha this occasion is both important and interesting. This is an episode which brings the Gods down to men. They become human beings, whom they themselves created, creatures infused with the same sentiments and same sensitiveness. Thus the Gods assume the garb of human beings and human beings assume the role of the Gods.

The Myth goes further. Once Lord Balarādhra became displeased with Lakṣmī when she accepted the offer of worship from an untouchable lady. But Lakṣmī had extracted a promise from Lord Jagannātha at the time of marriage,—the promise to permit her the right to be worshipped by all on Thursdays. On this ground she left the temple. Her anger caused the disappearance of the property of the Lords. Her servants made the temple empty of its precious possessions. Even the precious beds of the Lords were exchanged for ordinary cots. Jagannātha and Balarādhra were reduced to street beggars. Even begging could not fill their bellies. They starved. Balarādhra realised his folly, accepted food from the hands of Lakṣmī who had become untouchable in the process. The difference between the high and the low was abolished and Lakṣmī returned to



the temple. The formidable barriers of casteism were thus overcome in the temple of the Lord.

Besides, another festival known as "Rukmiṇī Harāṇa" is traditionally observed in the temple premises. One of the Sevakas (temple servants) appears as Śiṣupāla (rival of the lord) and consequent upon the mythical battle between them, he is forcibly dragged by the deity Madanmohan who represents Lord Jagannātha. In an interesting manner Śiṣupāla's pigtail being tied up in the palanquin of the lord, provides fun and enthusiasm to the devotees around.

### NAVAKALEBARA

We have already stated in the chapter on "Icon" that the images are renewed at intervals. The main principle adopted to fix the year of renewal is to find whether that year has two full moons in the month of "Āṣāḍha" (July). In every three years a lunar month is excluded from calculation to strike a balance between the lunar and solar years. This period is known as "Adhimāsa". Learned men term it "Malamāsa".<sup>18</sup> No auspicious rites are conducted in this month. But the religious scriptures describe this "Adhimāsa" as the most auspicious time for spiritual attainment and as such, they term it as "Puruṣottamamāsa". The gods of the land of Puruṣottama (Puri) undergo the ceremony of *Navakalebara* in the year in which falls this "Adhimāsa". This happens generally once in twelve to nineteen years. During the last 100 years, this ceremony was performed only five times in 1863, 1893, 1931 and 1950. After nineteen years this *Adhimāsa* has come again in 1969.

#### *Rites of the Navakalebara :*

Commanded by the Gajapati Mahārājā on the tenth Tithi of the full-moon day, in the month of *Caitra*, *Vidyāpati*, *Daitas* and the brahmins well versed in the Vedas make preparations to go in search of the "Dāru" or tree. After the mid-day "Dhūpa" of Lord Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā on *Śukla Dāśami* of *Caitra*, the *Mahapātras* receive the "Ajñyāmāla" or the garland as a token of the Lord's permission. Then the *Mahapātras* and four *Daitāpatīs* carry this "Ajñyāmāla" or garland to the "Anabasarapiṇḍi" where all of them put on new clothes provided for the occasion. Then from the *Jagannātha Ballava Maṭh*, all of them being accompanied by twenty three *Daitāpatīs* *Deulakaraṇa*, *Taḍhau*, *Lenkā*, four carpenters, start for the goddess *Maṅgalā* of *Kakatpur*. The *Lenkā* carries the *Cakra* and four *Brāhmins*, conversant with the *Śāstras* join them. The *Gajapati Mahārājā* of Puri, after offering auspicious articles such as unboiled rice, cocoanut and pieces of cloth to *Daitāpatīs*, makes formal request to



start for the forest in search of "Dāru". They obtain permission from goddess *Maṅgalā* in a dream before they proceed in four batches to the forest to spot out the Nimba tree. The tree must have four branches undamaged by insects and birds. At the foot of the tree serpents would be seen guarding the tree. There must be a cremation ground and a river in the vicinity. On discovering such a tree, (Plate No. 49) the *Daitapati* places the garland on the tree. They clean the place around the tree and sprinkle perfumed water on the place. Then they erect a platform and an altar for the performance of *Vana-Yaga* ceremony at the foot of the tree (Plate No. 50). All the four Ācāryas namely *Brahmā*, *Adhvarju*, *Hotā* and *Udgātā* conduct this yajña. *Daitapati*, *Vidyapati* and carpenters participate in this holy fire. The *Daitas* and other attendants sit in meditation for three days. At the end of this *Vana-Yaga* the *Vidyapati* touches the tree with the golden axe, and then the carpenters begin to cut the tree into logs (Plate No. 51). The trees for making the images of gods are located in different places. These holy logs (*Dāru*) are carried in four wheeled-carts newly built for the purpose. The sacred logs are placed on the cart (Plate No. 52) covered with new silken cloth and then the cart is drawn by the *Sevakas* and other people in a grand procession towards *Purī* (Plate No. 53). All the four sacred logs are brought to the temple compound through the northern gate and placed in the *Koili Baikunṭha*. On the *Snāna Pūrṇimā* day, the sacred logs are bathed simultaneously with the old deities. Then they are taken to their sheds named as *Dāru-ghara* (stacks for the sacred log). One hundred and eight Brahmins perform necessary rituals and the construction work of the images begins. No person is allowed to visit this place. After completion, the images are brought to the *Anabasarapiṇḍi* inside the main temple after circumambulation for three times. Then "*Ghaṣa Paribartan*" or transfer of *Brahma* from the old deities into their new counterparts is performed by *Pati Mahāpātra* in the dead of night on the *Kṛṣṇa Caturdaśī*. Generally the oldest man among the *Pati Mahāpatras* performs this important ceremony of transferring the mysterious *Brahmas*. However, he is not allowed to touch this *Brahma* with bare hands nor he is permitted to see it. Then the old images along with their beds, pillows, etc. are buried in the wells of *Koili Vaikunṭha* and the *Daitas* observe mourning till the tenth day and on the eleventh day, they perform "*Suddhi Kriyā*" as it is done after the death of a near relation.

There is also a very spectacular system current in the temple of Jagannātha known as *Mahāsmāna* (the grand holy bath). Generally *bhogas* are carried by the *Suāras* (cooks). They are not to be touched by any one when the *bhogas* are carried inside the temple. They pass through a covered path, with their mouths tied with a piece of cloth. The pots containing the *bhogas* are placed one on the other and they are carried in bamboo-yokes. If they are touched

by some one inside the temple then the *mahāsnāna* will be done again and the entire *bhogas* will be buried.

During the exact time of worship nobody (except the priests and some attendants) is permitted to enter the sanctorum. Now if some one, even a child, creates any sort of nuisance inside the temple then this *mahāsnāna* will recur.

Even a drop of blood seen inside the temple at the time of worship will cause *mahāsnāna*, and every corner of the temple will be cleaned and washed and the *bhogas* buried. Persons committing this nuisance are punished.

If death or a murder is committed inside the temple premises then this *mahāsnāna* takes place again.

At night when all religious services are over and the deities go to bed the main entrance of the temple (*Simhadvāra*) is closed to all. A group of temple servants is empowered to keep on strict vigil over the presence of any one, including the servants, inside the temple at night. All will leave the temple premises at night.

The deities are adorned with different *vesas* (holy costumes) annually. They are more than fifty in number. The most important ones are, (i) *Gaṇeśa Vesa*, (ii) *Gaṇaṭharaṇa Vesa* (Plate No 54), (iii) *Baṣṭarṅgar Vesa*, (iv) *Kaṇṇikaveri Vesa* and (v) *Padma Vesa* (Plate No. 55).

## REFERENCES

1. *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 28, 31, 33.  
The king Anaṅgabhimadeva introduced Chatisāniyoga.
2. *Man in India*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 1963, pp. 215-216.  
Article under the title "Administration of the Jagannātha Temple, 18th Century" by N. Patnaik—Reports of the Special Officer under the Puri Jagannātha Temple Act, 1952, p. 46.
3. The references have already been given in Chapter II regarding his activities. This king also constructed the 1st *prākāra* or *Megaṇāḍa Prācīr*—*Mādalāpāñji*, p. 44.
4. The reference has already been given in Chapter II.  
*Pratāprudradeva* did some improvement of the Temple. *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 53, 55.
5. *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 63, 65.
6. The references have already been given in Chapter II.
7. *Orissa First*, p. 10—Title : Jagannātha the God of the People. Reports of the Special Officer under the Puri Jagannātha Temple Act, 1952, p. 72. Grooms Report on the Temple of



- Jagannātha—Copies of Reports by W. G. Webb and Groom preserved in the Board of Revenue Department, Part VIII, Vol. XII.
8. List of Dresses and ornaments and expenses for several yatra—Reports kept in the office of Board of Revenue Part VIII, Vol. XII, p. 241.
  9. Letter written by G. Webb, Collector, Jagannātha Temple to G. H. Barlow—President of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, 19th December, 1807. It is now preserved in the Board of Revenue Office, Cuttack.
  10. *The Economic Weekly*, August 10, 1963—"Puri Impact of Socio-Economic Changes on a religious Complex by N. Patnaik.
  - 10a. Samūrtarcadhikarana of Marici. Ch. LVI. Śloka 73-74.
  11. *Bṛhadhārīta Smṛti*, Ch- VI, śloka 16.
  12. *Viṣṇu Saṁhitā* Patala XX, śloka 1-8.  
Athavakṣyami samakṣepādu tsavasya vidhiṁ paraṁ Sthāpitopi vinā yeno prasīdati. Na-  
Keśavaḥ Abda mardhaṁ, trimāsamvā māsaṁ pakṣamasūbhavave Navahaṁ vāpi saptāhaṁ  
pañcahaṁ nēsyateparaṁ Māghe vā margasīrsevā chaitre vaisākha evavā Pauṣe vā Phālgune  
kūryā dtsvaṁ bahu vistaraṁ.
  13. *Srikṣetra*, p. 163. The term Pahaṇḍi has been derived from the Sanskrit word Padahūḍana  
—meaning—walking slowly. According to Pandit Binayaka Mishra it has been derived  
from Praspaṇḍa.
  14. Chhāndogya Upanishad, Ch. VI, Section 7-1. The God should take rest for fifteen days.  
Soḍaśakalaḥ saumya puruṣaḥ  
Pañcadasāhani māsiḥ kāmamāpaḥ  
Pibapamayah prāṇo na pibato vichhisiyati iti  
The translation of this is given below.  
"Man my dear is made up of sixteen kalas (or attributes). For fifteen days, do not take  
anything; drink as much water as you like since prāṇo consists of water and it will not  
be off if you drink water. During this Anavasara the deities are offered only water or  
prapanaka.
  15. *Vaikhāṇasāgama*, Ch. LXV, p. 217.  
Akṣi mocanavinā—sarvam nāśāya bhavati  
taddosa samanarthaṁ vaiṣṇavaṁ viṣṇusuktam,  
puruṣasūktaṁ ekākṣarādi Navagraha daivatyam hutvā  
punrakṣimocanaṁ kīrayet.
  16. *Utsav Vidhi*, pp. 46-47 (Śrī Pañcarātra utsavsaṁgraha), pp. 46, 47, 190 & 191.
  17. *Śrikṣetra* in Bengali, p. 178.

## CHAPTER VI

### MODE OF WORSHIP

It is necessary to say something about the mode of worship of the formless (*nirākāra*) God of the universe, who must be given some form (*ākāra*) at the time of his ritual of adoration. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* says :

“*Prakṛtiḥ vikṛtistasya rūpeṇa paramātmanah  
Alakṣyam tasya tad rūpam prakṛtissā prakīrtitā  
Sākāra vikṛtirjñeyā tasya sarvaṃ jagatsmṛtaṃ*”

“The supreme spirit has two states of form, the one, the nature of the world (*Prakṛti*), and the other its transformation as appearance (*Vikṛti*). *Prakṛti* is His invisible form. *Vikṛti* is the aspect (*ākāra*) in which he pervades the universe. Worship and meditation can be performed in relation to His *ākāra* aspect only”.<sup>1</sup>

There are two kinds of worship known as *Antarvedi* and *Bahirvedi*, as mentioned by the same *Purāṇa* (III. I, 2-3). The worship of God during the performance of sacrifices is called the *Antarvedi*.<sup>2</sup> According to the tradition about Jagannātha already noted, the temple of Jagannātha was constructed after the completion of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by Indradyumna, and the installation of the deity by Brahmā. Then again, the worship is of three kinds : *Mānasa Pūjā* (mental), *Homa Pūjā* and *Beraṇpūjā* (Image worship). Among these three the image worship is commonly the best, since the devotee can perform it with flowers, etc. according to his ability. By this worship his eyes are delighted by the form of the God, and his mind is delighted by the satisfaction of his mind that he has worshipped and seen the formless God in this form. The devotee's devotion becomes stronger and he acquires it early. So among these three kinds of worship, the worship of the image is the best.<sup>3</sup> The worship of the deities in the temple is conducted according to the modes prescribed in such authentic works as *Gopalarcanābidhi* by Puruṣottama-deva, *Nilādrināthapūjābidhi* by Choḍagaṅga-deva, *Nilādrimahodaya* by one Nilādrī Pandā and another book called *Durgotsava-candrikā*. The manuscripts of the former two are retained in the Utkal University library.

The worship of Jagannātha in the temple has assumed a very complicated form in the course of time. Just as the conception about the deities developed from



age, to age, so also the mode of their ritualistic worship has developed. It appears that there was a progressive assimilation of the fundamentals of the earlier modes with the later modes of worship. For example, although, at the present time, the images are conceived on the *paurāṇic* lines of thought and the *dhyānas* and *mantras* are mostly addressed to the *paurāṇic* deities, still the *vedic* modes of *praṇava* worship and the *tāntric* modes of *yantra* worship and *vijamantra* worship are also there.

Jagannātha is worshipped at present not only by the ten-syllabled Mantra, "Om Gopījanavallabhaya svāhā", but also by the eighteen syllabled one "Om Kṛīm Kṛṣṇāya Govindāya Gopījanavallabhāya Namaḥ". This "Om" or "Praṇava" is the reminiscent of the *vedic* strand; *Kṛīm* is indicative of the *tāntric* one; while the other aspects of the *mantras* emphasise the *paurāṇic* and *Vaiṣṇavite* forms. The sign of coordination is not only noticeable in such *mantras* but it is also noticeable in other characteristic forms of the composite worship.

The modes of worship are partly *vedic*, partly *tāntric* and partly *paurāṇic*. The *vedic* part consists of the veneration paid to the symbol *Praṇava*—the symbol of *Brahma*. The *tāntric* tradition evolved various *nyāsas*, such as *ṣaḍaṅganyāsa*, *Keśavādiṇyāsa*, *Śrīśīstīthīsamhāranyāsa*, *Mātrkānyāsa*, etc., *yantras* such as *Śrī* and *Bhuvaneśvarī*, *Kriyās* (*Mudrās*) and *Bijamantras*. It is also to be noted that the *yogic-tāntric* system of impaling the *satecakras* (*Satecakrabheda*) of the body is also given an important part in the mode of worship. The appropriate *Dhyānas* and *Mantras* propounded by the *paurāṇic* tradition explain the form, the nature, the character and the power of the images. The inherent power of the images that are worshipped and meditated upon fulfils the desired object of the devotee according to his deserts.

The conception of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra as well as Sudarśana seems to have originated from the *yogic-tāntric* system and developed into the *paurāṇic* and *Vaiṣṇavite* setting. Even though the images are seen in four different forms they are treated as one and the same, and that is why at the time of daily worship three priests simultaneously perform the rites according to the tradition.

In earlier times the deities were probably not taken as separate entities but simply as the varying symbols of one deity called *Brāhmaṇ* or *Puruṣottama*. It is thus logical to assert that there is no ground to consider the deities and their images as separate entities. The four deities being two males, one female and the remaining one (*Sudarśana*) as male-female. This division of the forms into males and a female seems to have been a later feature of the cult. This is partly confirmed by the fact that *Rāmānujācārya*, the great *visistādvaitist*, could



think of imposing the pāñcarātra form of worship<sup>4</sup> in the temple of Jagannātha or naming the deities according to the caturvyūha system as given in the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra of the 16th century.<sup>5</sup>

According to this interpretation (also supported by Brahma Purāṇa) the four deities Jagannātha, Bālabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana respectively stand for Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, the four primary vyūhas of the early pāñcarātrins.<sup>6</sup> But the order of placing the four images on the Ratnavedī, does not correspond to the order of the caturvyūhas, because here they are placed as Bālabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana. If one of the forms is a female form, such as Subhadrā—then it is unthinkable that the followers of pāñcarātra school could contemplate the conversion of it into a male form and support the conversion of the uniconic symbol of Sudarśana into Aniruddha Vyūha. So there seems to be some deeper reason why the mode of worship at this temple should be regarded as being originally a symbol or *praṇava* worship. We have said that the four mātṛās of *Praṇava* or the four pādas of Brāhmaṇ, explained in the *vedas* or in the *upaniṣadas* came to assume various names and forms with corresponding *dhyānas*, *Praṇava* mantras and *nyāsas* in subsequent stages.

The conception of Jagannātha as *Dāru* brahma and the carving of the image into wooden form lend additional support to this argument. The three images are carved in wood not because stone and metals were not available, but because there was no traditional sanction in support of the representation of these forms in stone or metal. There is not only rigorous injunction that the figures would be cut in wood but also there is a special mention of the type of wood out of which these figures are to be carved. This tradition is rigorously followed even today when the occasion arises for the renewal of the images generally every twelve years. So naturally the question arises why there should be so much stress on carving the figures in wood. The worship of the wooden forms as we have in the temple of Jagannātha cannot be confused with the aboriginal form of worship of mere wood or tree. The fact is that here is "wood worship" and not exactly the tree worship. It has been said in the previous chapter how attempts were made to transform *Dāru* worship into Brāhmaṇ worship and how this passed through many stages.

Scholars are of opinion, however, that the earlier worshippers of Jagannātha were Śabaras and thus Jagannātha in one of his aspects was a Śabara deity.<sup>7</sup> Some also want to connect it with the totem worship of the Śabaras.

The concept of *Dāru* Brahma raises an important question and, in this context, reference to *Praṇava* becomes indispensable. So Brāhmaṇ and *Praṇava* were identified as one.



The *Utkal Khanda* of *Skandapurāṇa* makes an illuminating suggestion<sup>8</sup>. It describes Lord Puruṣottama as “*Praṇava rūpi*” (Plate No. 56) and His Mantra is *Praṇava*. “*Nīlādri Mahodaya*” also supports this by explaining the idea more elaborately<sup>9</sup>. *Praṇava* has three relatively complete *mātrās* and one half *mātrā*, which is “*Nāda Bindu*” and it is attached to Jagannātha. He is, therefore, addressed as “*Nāda bindu Samanvita*”. *Ākāra* is the first *mātrā* which is on the petals; “*U*” *kāra* is the second *mātrā* which is in the interior side, and “*Ma*” *kāra* is the third *mātrā* and is situated at the root. *Ardha mātrā* is the *kaṇṇa* itself. There is no wonder therefore that this *Ardha mātrā* is called *Subhadrā*.

As has been said before, in the temple of Jagannātha three priests usually perform the worship simultaneously (Plate No. 57) and there is not a fourth one, although the main images are four. The reason is that the fourth form is *Jyoti Brahma* or the *Turiya* or the *Nirākāra*<sup>10</sup>, and it cannot be directly worshipped but is worshipped only in the three manifest forms. *Sudarśana*, the symbol of *Jyoti Brahma* or *Turiya*, is “*Arūpa*” or formless; so no specific form has been given to it. It is the soul of the universe. It represents the absolute Oneness or Unity of Being and at *Turiya* stage there cannot be any distinction between the subject and the object—between the *Upāsya* and *Upāsaka*. The fourth stage is misrepresented if any distinction is brought there. This is the reason why no worshipper sits before *Sudarśana*. *Sudarśana* is in that stage, from where all mundane words withdraw and it remains inaccessible to sense perception or mental representation.

Now it will be very interesting to discuss here the existing mode of worship in detail. According to *Paraśurāma-kalpāsūtra*<sup>11</sup> and *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*, the worship should be performed in three different ways such as Vedic, Tāntric and *Mīśra* (mixed) mode. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says<sup>12</sup>—

*vaidikastāntriko mīśra iti me  
trividhoh makhah  
trayenāmīpsitenaiva vidhinā mām  
samarcayet*

The *Paraśurāmakalpāsūtra* quoting from the *Mahābhārata* says—

“*Āmnāyāgamavedāya śuddhabudhāya te namah*”<sup>13</sup>

Here the word *Āmnāya* means *veda* and *Āgama* means *Tantra*. So the best way of worshipping the Lord is the mixed form of worship, both vedic and tāntric. The *Bhāgavata* further notes that ‘those who are desirous of attaining *mokṣa* should



worship the Lord in both ways, vedic and t̃āntric<sup>14</sup>. It is clear therefore that the mixed worship conducted at the Jagannātha temple is based on authoritative texts.

The daily worship of Jagannātha starts from the early morning and lasts till late hours at night. The deity Jagannātha is offered all the *Upacāras* of a god as well as a king. That is to say he has been conceived as a superman.

Early morning the first item begins with the *Dunduvī Vādyā* (sounding of drums), then the Vitārcho Mohāpātra, a temple servant comes and examines the seal of the main door (Jaya Vijaya Dvāra). After satisfying himself about the condition of the seal, he along with *Pālīa mekāp*, *Pratihāri*, *Akhaṇḍa-mekāp* and *Mudulī* opens the main door. After this he, with a lamp, inspects everything upto the place where the images are installed in order to ascertain whether there is any impure thing or not. He then breaks the seal of the *garbhagṛha* and opens the door of the same. They then go up together to the *Sīṃhāsana* saying "*Maṇimā*" "*Maṇimā*" (Oh Lord, Oh Lord) and keep the lamps burning at both the sides. They then remove the tender coconut, perfumed water, betel nut etc. offered to the gods previous night and restore them to the store house. Here then the *stotras* are recited.

The next item follows with *Maṅgalārātri* i.e. showing to the Deity twenty-one lamps fed with ghee followed by *pistakārati*. During this time "*Suprabhāt-stotrams*" (auspicious hymns to rouse the Deity) are recited and auspicious instrumental music (*maṅgalavādyam*) is played by the Vaiṣṇavas. Thus the Deities are awakened. *Taḍapas* (a kind of dress) are supplied. Then the old clothings are removed and new clothings are given. After this start other daily rites, namely—washing the teeth and cleaning the tongue (*Dantadhavana* and *jihvāllekhana*). During the time of *Abhiṣeka* the painted wooden images are not actually bathed. They are reflected in three mirrors and the water is poured on the reflections of the deities in those mirrors only. Then again the deities are dressed in new clothings and decked with ornaments and garlands. All these ritualistic performances are known as *Avakāśa*.

Then the public is allowed to have a sight (*darśana*) as well as a touch (*sp̥arśana*) of the images. Thus, the deities are thrown open to the public access. This is called in Oriya as *Sāhānamelā* (*Sādhāraṇamelā* or *sādhāraṇa-darśana* or public visit). After this the deities are again dressed with new clothes.

Then the kitchen is cleaned and *homa* is performed according to the Vaiṣṇava rites and the cooking starts. Then the worship of the Sun and the



*Dvārāpālas* is performed. The next item, the breakfast of the deities, is called *Gopāl Ballabha* or *Bāla bhoga*. It contains edible offerings such as *Suāmandā*, *Pāpudi*, *Butter*, *curd*, fried paddy (*Khai*), *Korā* (prepared with cocoanut), cocoanut *pācedi*, plantains other ripe seasonal fruits, green cocoanut, other kinds of cold *bhogas* (*śitala bhoga*), and betel.

Generally these *bhogas* are offered between 7.30 A.M. and 8 A.M. at the *Anabasara Piṇḍi*. After this *Bāla bhoga*, the temple is cleaned from the *Garbhagṛha* upto the *Candana Argali*. Then a curtain (known as *Terā*) is put on the *Candana Argali* to prevent others from seeing the deities. Now starts the morning worship called the *sakaladhūpa* or the first *dhūpa*. It consists of offerings to the deities, the sixteen *upacāras* (items of offerings) called (*ṣoḍaśopacārāpūjā*)<sup>15</sup>. This time *pūjā* is performed in five places indicated by five *ālpanās*. The priest who performs the *pūjā* to Jagannātha also performs the *pūjā* to Lakṣmī, Viśvadhātṛi (Bhūdevī) and Sudarśana. Other two priests worship Baḷabhadra and Subhadra respectively. Then the twenty-course *Bhogas* are offered to the deities. Some new features are to be seen in this *Bhoga*. They are, offerings of umbrella, fanning with *cāmara* (fly-whisk), and dance and music by *Devadāsīs* accompanied with instrumental music. This *Bhoga* is offered inside the *Garbhagṛha* before the *Ratnavedi*. Next the dresses of the deities are changed. This ritual is called *Mailamlāgi*. The item that follows just after this is called *Catrabhoga* or *Maṇḍapabhoga* or *Bhāndhabhoga* offered at the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* behind the *Garuḍa* pillar. The offering of the five items called the *Pañcopacāra*—sandal paste, flowers, *dhūpa*, lamp, *Naivedya* (eatables) etc. are made during this type of worship. This *Bhoga* is meant for the public and the *Maṭhas* alike.

*Madhyāhna Bhoga* or mid-day meal :

This is called the 2nd *dhūpa* or the 2nd *bhoga*. There are fifty-six kinds of *bhogas* generally offered to the deities. But more items of *bhogas* numbering above hundred are also offered. Then the dresses of the deities are changed and three palanquins are brought and kept before the images. By the side of the palanquins, betel, green cocoanut and perfumed water are also kept. After this the *Karpūra-āratī* is performed. This is the indication of the deities going to take the mid-day rest. Then the doors are sealed. In the evening just as in the early morning *Bhitorchho Mohāpātra* inspects the seal of the door and opens it. This is followed by the *Sandhyā āratī*.

Then begins *Sandhyā dhūpa* or the evening worship. *Āratī* is performed and this is followed by a change of dress. The deities are worshipped according to *ṣoḍaśopacāra pūjā*. During this *pūjā*, *Āratī* is performed four times. After the



*Sandhyā dhūpa* the deities are dressed in silken garments and sandal paste is applied to them. This is called *Candalālāgi*. Then the recitation of the *Gītagovinda* accompanied with the melody of the *Viṇā* and other musical instruments is done. Then starts the *Baḍasinhāraṇa* gorgeously luxuriant dress. Various *bhogas* are also offered to the deities. During this ritualistic performance the deities are decorated with flower crests, *Candrikā* etc. and especially the *tulast* garland is offered to them. Like other previous worships various *bhogas* are offered to god Jagannātha during this time. This *Baḍasinhāraṇa* is mainly done with flowers. Just like the afternoon rituals three palanquins are brought, and green-cocoanut, perfumed water, etc. are placed near them. To prevent mosquitoes *dhūpas* are offered; after *Puṣpālaka*, *puṣpāñjali* is offered; the *utsava* image of *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa* (*Ardhanārīśvara*) is put on the palanquin and offered green-cocoanut, betel nut etc. Then the *utsava-bera* is placed on a *Dambaru āsana* near the *Jayavijaya dvāra*. Next *Karpurārati* is offered along with recitation of the *Gītagovinda* accompanied with dance by the *devadāsīs*. Another feature of the *Sandhyā Pūjā* is that the king of *Purī* or one of his representatives presents himself with golden stick in hand, and the *Praharāja* (the chief priest of the *Rājā*) chants the *veda mantras*. Then the *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa* image is brought near the store. At night, the ceremony consists of the following :—Putting out the lamp (*Akhaṇḍa dīpa*), uttering of “*Maṇimā*”, “*Maṇimā*” by *Pālā Pratihār*, closing of doors, sealing the lock of the door with mud along with the seal of *Madanamohana* by *Terachho Mohāpātra*. This shows that the gods go to bed after this.

It is necessary here to describe in detail the daily worship (*nityapūjā*) performed by the priests. Before they begin the actual worship, they perform certain rites which are based on Vedic and Tāntric principles, without which they are not eligible for the *pūjā* ceremony. They should first of all utter initiatory *mantras* in the prescribed form. Thus they become worthy of performing the act of worship. Then they should perform the *Sandhyā*, Vedic as well as Tāntric. After this they are to recite proper *mantras* for the Vedic and Tāntric mode of *snāna* of the deities. The *Veda* *mantras* are chanted during Vedic *snāna* and the Tāntric *mantras* are chanted during the Tāntric *snāna*. Now the priests perform the *Saṁkalpa* saying “I am performing the bath for the sake of *Gopījanaballabha Kṛṣṇa*”. After this he is to invoke all the sacred rivers to give water in order to be used for this *snāna* (bathing). Then the rites of *Amṛti karaṇa* (making him full of nectar) along with *Avagunṭhana* (covering) and *Saṁrakṣaṇa* (protecting) etc. are performed. Then invocation to sun and moon, meditation on their *Isṭadevatā* and chanting of the *Mūlamantra* are done.

The next items of the *Pūjā* are the *Ācamana*, *Sadāṅga nyāsa* or touching



the parts of his body at six places—heart, head, tuft, two eyes and centre of fore-head. Then *kavāca* and chanting of *ekajaṭā mantra* follow. With the chanting of the *Ekajaṭā mantra* the water from the left hand is brought to the right hand and it is sprinkled for 7 times on the priests' heads, the rest of the water being thrown on the *Vajrasila*. After this the *arghyas* are offered to the Sun God with chanting of the *Gāyatrīmantra*. Then follows *tarpaṇa*, Vedic as well as Tāntric. Invocation to Vaiṣṇavī Śaktis and *tarpaṇa* to Kṛṣṇa, *Gurupatni*, as well as *Iṣṭadevatās* are performed. Preceptors—*guru*, *paramaguru* and *parātparaguru* and noted Vaiṣṇavas, Nārada, Uddhava etc. are also invoked. It is interesting to note that during the course of worship the *tarpaṇa* is conducted twenty-five times, or ten times or three times with chanting of the Mūla mantra, saying "I perform *tarpaṇa* to Kṛṣṇa". After this item is finished, the worshipping of three śaktis namely Brāhmaṇī, Vaiṣṇavī and Rudrānī is performed in the morning, afternoon and evening respectively. After 'Sūryanamaskāra' the priests proceed towards the deities to do *ācamana* according to the Vaiṣṇava principles. Then the *pañca viṃśati mātṛika Nyāsa* is performed, the religious marks (*Tilaka*) are put on the foreheads, the nine śaktis (*Dīpti*, *Sūkṣmā*, *Jayā*, *Bhadrā*, *Bibhūti*, *Vimalā*, *Amoghā*, *Vidyutā* and *Sarvotamukhī*) are worshipped on the eight petals (*aṣṭa-dala*) and central pericarp (*Karṇikā*) of the lotus, the seat of the Sun God. After this begins the invocation of *Yogapīṭha*, the seat of the Sun as representing the gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva and others. Then the deities called *āvaraṇa devatās* installed in the different parts of the enclosures are worshipped in the usual manner. Next starts the worship of the *Dvārapālas* (door-keepers). After taking the permission from the *Dvārapālas* starts the worship of the main deities. They are worshipped as usual according to the previous pattern. That is to say the priests should undergo all sorts of *dhyānas*, *mantras*, *Nyāsas*, *upacāras*, in connection with the worship of the deities. After the invocation of the Bhairava with the mantra "*Atikāru Mahā Kāya*" etc. they sit at the right hand side of the deities in *Śvastika āsana* facing the north. Then they begin to worship the main deities namely Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadra in the usual manner.

The Lord Jagannātha is worshipped according to *Aṣṭakṣari*, (eight syllabled), *Daśākṣari* (ten syllabled) and *aṣṭādaśākṣari* (eighteen syllabled) *mantras* during morning, afternoon and evening (also night) respectively. The general invocation or *dhyānas* of the Lord Jagannātha is performed according to the *prapañca-saratantra* and mainly the *prapañcasārasaṅgraha*—Paṭala XVII, p. 482. Here the Lord is considered and worshipped as Kṛṣṇa in various aspects. The morning meditation conceives him as he was in his infancy (*vālagopāla*), his abode is at Gopa—he is two armed. During mid-day (*Madhyāhna*) he is meditated as



a youthful god Kṛṣṇa seated under *Kalpa vṛkṣa* (wish-giving tree). His abode is at Vṛndāvana, playing on flute and surrounded by *gopas*, *gopīs* and cows. He is also two armed. In the evening (*sandhyā*) he conceived as seated in the garden of Dvārakā inside the *maṇḍapa*. He is four-armed and his abode is Dvārakā. At night he is meditated as one described in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa during the famous *rāsakṛīdā*. He is four-armed.

Baḷabhadra is worshipped in the Dvādaśākṣara mantra (twelve syllabled mantra) *Om, Namo bhagavate vāsudevāya* and also he is worshipped with the hymns of *Puruṣasukta* since he is treated as *Virāja*.<sup>15b</sup>

Subhadra is worshipped as Bhuvaneśvarī in *ekākṣara mantra* "*Om 'Hriṃ' Bhuvaneśvaryai Namaḥ*". To establish the *praṇava* worship and to make the deities common for all sects, the worship has been prescribed according to the Hari-Hara cult. She is also worshipped in the Śrī and Devī sūktas. Sudarśana is worshipped in *saptākṣara* or seven-syllabled mantra. His mantra is "*Om Sahasrārahṇaḥ Phaḥ*".

It is interesting that in the worship of three deities the *Praṇava Nyāsa* and *mantra* are invariably used. The *Nyāsa mantra* of *Praṇava* is as follows: (This is according to *Nīlādrināthasya Pūjāvidhī*) followed in the temple.

*"Om akāra sattvaguṇaṃ suklavarṇam Namaḥ nabhau  
Om U kāra rajoguṇaṃ raktavarṇam Namaḥ Hrudaye  
Om Makāra tamoguṇaṃ Kṛṣṇa varṇaṃ Namaḥ mūṛdhni"*

The three syllables *A, U, Ma* stand for Baḷabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannātha respectively and their colour is the same as that of the above syllables of *Praṇava nyāsa*. There is no wonder that the different colours of the deities have been conceived according to the *Nyāsa mantra*.

It is important to mention here that a close study of *Prapañcasāra*, *Meru* and *Sāradā-Tilaka* including other tāntric texts<sup>16</sup> reveals that the Bhuvaneśvarī cult was adopted and prescribed perhaps by Śaṅkarācārya to please all sects. By the introduction of this cult the Vaiṣṇavas take their Supreme God as Hari (Viṣṇu, Jagannātha), the Śaivites as Hara (Baḷabhadra) and the Śāktaḥ as Goddess Bhuvaneśvarī. In the Govardhana maṭha even though the *Ardhanārīśvara* *līṅga* is installed, the main deity is Gopālakṛṣṇa. There is a large number of Hari-Hara images and temples in Orissa. As regards the images—one carved on the Someśvara temple at Mukhalingam and the other at Hariśaṅkar in the Bolangir district in Orissa may be cited. This cult became so popular in course of time as to influence the Līṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvara, where we see the remnant of the



cult still existing. For example on the Garuḍa pillar both a *Bull* and a *Garuḍa* are placed. On the top of the temple there is *Pināka Dhanu* instead of *Trisūla*.

The twin temple at Gandharādi is the finest specimen of Harihara temple in Orissa (Plate No. 58), the date of which has been fixed as the 8th century A.D. The emblems are on the top of the temple. The *Śiva Liṅga* is on the top of the shrine belonging to Śiva Siddheśvara and the *Cakra* is seen on the crest of the Viṣṇu temple (Nilamādhava).

For detailed information about the mode of ritualistic worship prevalent in the temple of Jagannātha the palm-leaf *pothi*—*Gopālārcaṇavidhi* of Puruṣottama Deva may be consulted. This temple was visited on pilgrimage by almost all the Ācāryas of different schools of thought. But only Śaṅkarācārya has been given more prominence and his picture is kept on the Nāṭamandira. This affirms that Śaṅkarācārya was the man who enjoined that worship in the temple of Purī. It is said that Rāmānujācārya the founder of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* School visited Purī and influenced the king to adopt the *pāñcarātra* system of worship in the temple, but could not succeed. For this reason another temple known as "Ālvaranātha Temple" (Plate No. 28) was built at Brahmagiri, a place 14 miles away from Purī and the system of worship is strictly based on the *pāñcarātra* system. It is now under the supervision of the Emāra maṭha, another famous maṭha of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* School.

We have already stated in the chapter on "Administration" that the Muktimandapa is the seat of justice for deciding the religious disputes. The Śaṅkarācārya of the Govardhanamaṭha of Purī presides over such occasions and judgments are delivered under his signature and seal. While employing the temple priests the king is to ask them to produce necessary certificates of fitness from the Śaṅkarācārya of the Govardhana Maṭha. A marble statue of Śaṅkarācārya is still seen in the said maṭha (Plate No. 37). This proves that Śaṅkarācārya came to Purī and introduced some changes into this cult. The tradition goes that the *aṣṭaka* called *Jagannāthāṣṭaka* so popular in Orissa was composed by Śaṅkarācārya. This has been included in the Śaṅkarācārya Granthāvali.<sup>17</sup> According to some this is the work of the famous Saint Caitanya.

Another interesting feature seen in the ritualistic worship in the Jagannātha temple is the tāntric *pañcamakāra* mode which is partly adhered to. But the *pañcamakāras* are identified in a manner that divests the individual items of the gross sensuality. The *pañcamakāras* are, as is well-known—(1) *Matīya* (fish), (2) *Māṁsa* (meat), (3) *Madya* (wine), (4) *Mudrā* (money) and (5) *Maithuna* (sexual



inter-course). The first Matsya is substituted for green vegetables cooked with *Hingu* (asafoetida). The second i.e. *Māṃsa* consists of the preparation of *Ada pacidi* (Ginger). The third i.e. '*Madya*' substituted for green cocoanut water offered in the bellmetal vessel. The fourth i.e. *Mudra* consists of a pudding prepared with sugar and flour (mixture) named as *Kānti*. The fifth i.e. *Maithuna* which consists of peculiar kind of dancing by *Devadāsīs* (*utkachantya*). But according to some this maithuna aspect is represented by the *Aparājita* flower. This flower is conceived as *Yoni*. This shows that the *tāntric* features are sublimated in the pure form at Jagannātha worship with the help of these *Anukalpas* (substitutes). It is interesting that the *śākta* mode of sacrifice of rams etc. before the goddess *Vimalā* is also made. It is only thrice in a year during the *Mahāṣṭamī* tithi of the autumnal worship of the goddess *Vimalā*, the animal sacrifice is made for three days. She is also offered fish from the *Saptamī* tithi upto *Navamī* as she is conceived as *Durgā*. It is a noticeable feature that *Nṛ-siṃha* is the guardian deity of the temple and all the performances beginning from *pūjā* to cooking are preceded by offering to *Nṛsiṃha* first. It has a deeper significance. *Nṛsiṃha* is the emblem of *Brahma* as propounded in the *Nṛsiṃha Tāpini Upaniṣada* where *Nṛsiṃha* has been described as *Brahma* i.e. Indeterminate Being of whom *Jagannātha* is the Determinate form.

The Lord *Jagannātha* is all pervading and He combines in Himself all the main five Hindu deities namely *Nārāyaṇa*, *Rudra*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Sūrya* and *Durgā*. When He is on the *Ratna Siṃhāsana* of His temple, He is *Nārāyaṇa*; during the *Nabīkalevara* ceremony, he is considered as *Rudra*; during the *Snāna Yātrā*, he is conceived as *Gajānan*, (*Gaṇeśa*); at the time of car-festival, he is taken to be *Sūryanārāyaṇa*; while enjoying the divine slumber (*Sayana Yātrā*), he becomes a *Durgā*. Thus all the main deities of Hinduism are considered to have been merged in Him. Thus, He is represented as a supreme God to *Śaibites*, *Śāktas*, *Ganapatyas*, *Sauras* and *Vaiṣṇavas*. In Orissa, the five sacred signs at *Mahāvinayaka*, *Konārka*, *Purī*, *Viraja* (at *Jājpur*) and *Līṅgarāja* (*Bhubaneśwar*) are centres for *Pañcadevatās* the five deities, *Gaṇeśa*, *Sūrya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Durgā* and *Śiva* respectively.

Just as the *Jagannātha* Cult is an assimilation of the various forms of religion and modes of worship, so also it merges within itself the different systems of philosophy. In particular, in the ritual and day to day worship are traced the impact of the systems like *abheda*, *bheda*, *bhedābheda* and *acintyābhedābheda*. For instance, there is the feeling of *abheda* in the acceptance of *mahāprasād* by one and all. There is also the concept of *bheda* regarding the *naivedya* before it is offered to the deities in so far as it cannot be touched and seen by any one except the chosen *Supakaras*. Further, there is the idea of *bhedābheda* in respect of the water



used in worshipping the lords. It is brought to the temple by Śūdras but carried to the Ratnavedī by *Garabāḍus*, who are brāhmins. Lastly, the concept of *Acintya-bhedābheda* as discernible in the rituals of *Nabakalevara* which occurs once in every twelve years or even nineteen years. The Daitās, who are the descendants of the family of the Śābara chief *Viśvavāsu*, assist in carving the images of the deities and are identified as kinsmen of the lord. At the sametime they are not entitled to worship the deities nor are they permitted to decorate them with dresses and ornaments proper to the rituals. These apparently contradictory ritualistic practices offer a unique mystery to one at the outset, but viewed in the perspective of the co-ordination of different cultures and religions that has taken place at *Jagannāthapīṭha*, they only help to establish how different systems of philosophy were merged in the cult.

It would be interesting to say something about the lighting system in the temple of Jagannātha. The lighting arrangement of the Jagannātha temple is quite systematic. Lamps are burnt day and night inside the temple but the burning of *Maśāla* is a speciality in the Jagannātha temple. This *Maśāla* is burnt in different places in the Jagannātha temple on different occasions. The lamps (*dīpa*) are also burnt on the *Garuḍa stambha*. This *Maśāla* is of three kinds—(1) *Maśāla Dihudī* (Plate No. 59), (2) *Cakradihudī* (Plate No. 60) and (3) *Chamudihudī*. The sevakas of the Śūdra caste use *Maśāla* and *Cakradihudī* whereas the Brāhmin sevakas use *Chamudihudī*.

The oil lamps with til oil and *salitā* (cotton thread) are always burnt inside the temple. From *Jaya Vijaya dvāra* to *Kalāhāta* (near the store) nine lamps are burnt, and from *Kalāhāta* to *Siṃhāsana* twenty-seven lamps are burnt. The numbers Nine and Twenty-seven represent the nine planets and twenty-seven stars respectively.

The handle of *Deudīmaśāla* is made of brass, the tip of which is bound with clothes. It is soaked in oil and is lit up with fire. With this it goes on burning for a number of hours. Whenever there is a shortage of oil it is again soaked with oil from the oil-pot called *Kāhāli*.

The handle of *Cakradeudīmaśāla* is made of iron. Towards the tip of the handle there is a round disc which has several peaks, five or seven in number, covered with clothes. Oil is poured on them and they are lighted. They are used at the time of special processions or on special occasions. The *deudīmaśālas* are especially meant for the processions of the deities.

Six *Akhaṇḍa Dīpas* or perpetual lamps are burnt on two sides of the *Ratna-siṃhāsana* on a *Stambha* (pillar) three on each side. The *Mahādīpas* are offered

during the month of *Mārgaśīra* in the tithis like *Trayodaśī*, *Amāvasyā* and *Pratipad*. One of the temple servants known as *Chunarā* goes up to the top of the three sections namely *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭamandira* and *Viman* and lights the lamps. He moves on the top thrice with the lamps and then sets them down. Thereafter follows a kind of fire-work known as *Candraudīa*. Thus, he hoists the lamps wishing prosperous life for the king.

## REFERENCES

1. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa III, Ch. XLVI, pp. 2-3.
2. Ibid. III, Ch. I, pp. 2-3.
3. Lakṣmītantram, p. 23.
4. Prapannāmṛta, Ch. XXXV-XXXVI, Śloka 5-7.
5. Tīrthacintāmaṇī—Vācaspati Miśra, p. 65.
6. According to Pāñcarātra Āgama the order is Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha.
7. Hindu Mythology Vedic & Paurāṇic—W. J. Wilkins, pp. 254-55.
8. Utkal Khaṇḍa (Skanda Purāṇa), Ch. XXIV, Śloka 14-15  
 Etistutvā sureśanaṁ devaṁ praṇava-rūpiṇaṁ  
 Pranataḥ praṇavaṁ mantraṁ jajāpa purato Hareḥ.
9. Nilādrimohodaya, Ch. LX, pp. 406-408 and Ch. LXI, pp. 409-410 and Prācinutkala, p. 476.  
 Sarvavedeṣu mantreṣu nāyako yaḥ pariskṛtaḥ  
 Praṇava praṇatānāmtu vavarṇāve vidārāṇaḥ.  
 Tri mātṛā śārdhamātrāśca  
 Bindunāda samanvitaḥ.
10. Regarding Sudarśana Yaśovanta Das says in his Prema Bhakti Brahmagitā, Ch. V, p. 37.  
 "Pāruṣe sudarśana yaṭi  
 Se mahāśūnya Brahmajyoti."
11. Paraśurāmakaḥpasūtra quoted in Kauṣamārgarahasya, pp. 96-97.
12. Bhāgavata, Ch. XI, 27/7.
13. Paraśurāmakaḥpasūtra quoted in Kouṣamārgarahasya, pp. 96-97.
14. Bhāgavat, Ch. VIII, 6/9.
15. D.H.I., Ch. II, p. 36. & Monier William's Religious thoughts and life in India, pp. 411-16.
- 15a. Nilādrimohodaya, Ch. V, p. 52.
- 16a. Prapañcāsārasaṅgraha, pp. 275-278.  
 Detail Worship of Bhubanesvarī Paṭala XI, pp. 305-306.
- 16b. Prapañcāsāra-tantra, Ch. X, Śloka 1.
17. The works of Saṅkarācārya, Vol. XVIII, Ch. II—Published by Vānīvilas Press, Śrīrangam.
18. Pañcopāsanā—J. N. Banerjea, p. 275.



## CHAPTER VII

### THEOLOGY

#### *Part—I : History & Development*

The theological concept centering round the deities—Jagannātha, Bālabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana developed through ages. This can be subdivided thus. First, from 350 A.D. to 500 A.D. when the Māṭhara kings were ruling over Kalinga, and the shrine of their personal deity Nārāyaṇa was possibly situated on the Mahendra mountain. Then from 500 A.D. upto 750 A.D. during the dynasties of the early Gaṅgas and the Śaiḷodbhavas when the concept of the composite God Puruṣottama Jagannātha was further developed ; then between the middle of the eighth century A.D. and about the middle of the 11th century A.D. when Orissa was under the Bhauma and Somavāmśī monarchs ; and lastly from the 11th century A.D. onwards when Jagannātha and other deities were being worshipped by the Imperial Gaṅgas, Sūryavāmśī rulers and others. Thus the process went on.

There is every likelihood that during these periods the concept of the deities was being developed and re-orientated by different groups of their worshippers. The Māṭharas described themselves in their inscriptions, as *Nārāyaṇa pādabhaktas* and conceived the main deity as Nārāyaṇa. The early Gaṅgas (Eastern Gaṅgas) named it as *Gokaṛṇeśvara*, a name of Śiva, for they were Śaivas. The Śaiḷodbhavas conceived the same deity as *Svayambhū* (Brahmā-Śiva). The Bhauma-Karas who were Buddhists, thought that this god was Jagannātha which was another form of Buddha. It was the Imperial Gaṅgas who became devout Vaiṣṇavas in course of time, and gave due importance to the already existing concept of Puruṣottama Jagannātha with his three companions Bālabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana. It has already been shown in the first chapter how separate deities like *Maṇināga* and *Stambheśvari* appear to have been intimately associated with Puruṣottama Jagannātha in course of time. Another concept of Ekānāmśā, the sister of Bālabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, appears also to have contributed to the development of the concept of the composite deity of Jagannātha, Bālabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana. The theology of Jagannātha as found today, developed actually during the Gaṅga and Sūryavāmśī periods. It was during this period

that some Mahāyānist elements mixed with tāntricism were combined with the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite ideologies and gave rise to a new theological conception of the Jagannātha cult.

Leading philosophers like Śaṅkara and Rāmānūja, Mādhava and Naraharitirtha made great contributions towards the development of this theology.<sup>1</sup> The *tantra-yoga* system of the cult seems to have been derived from the Nātha cult. The Hari-Hara cult that was developing in Orissa from the early medieval period reflected to a considerable extent its tenets in the cult of Jagannātha.<sup>2</sup> The śākta tāntric elements are also noticed in ritualism as well as theological ideas about the cult of the deity. While Jagannātha and Baḷabhadra together stood for the idea of Hari-Hara, Subhadrā stood for śākta and tāntric ideas; she is not only Bhairavī but also Bhuvaneśvarī, while Jagannātha is regarded as a Bhairava and Bhuvaneśvara. The deity Baḷabhadra is sometimes considered as Śiva and sometimes as Ananta or the serpent—thus representing the Nāga Cult.<sup>3</sup> But essentially he is a paurāṇic God, Haḷadhara as conceived by the Vaiṣṇavas, being the bucolic deity. The theology of the cult of Jagannātha thus represents an amalgam, and its different aspects are discussed below.<sup>4</sup>

With the accession of Chodagaṅga, Vaiṣṇavism became the dominant faith in Orissa. It centred round the conception of Jagannātha and may be called 'Jagannāthism'. A peculiar Vaiṣṇavism developed at that time and might be called an eclectic form of Vaiṣṇavism that prevailed in medieval Orissa.<sup>5</sup> It did not completely eclipse Śaivism and Buddhism and Śakti worship, rather it assimilated certain ideas from these faiths.

When we come to the age of Sāraḷā Dāsa and then that of the *Pañcaśakhās* of Oriya literature we see various conceptions developed during this period. The advent of Caitanya gave a new impetus to Orissan Vaiṣṇavism.<sup>6</sup> These *Pañcaśakhās* are the five associates of Caitanya who was a great reformer. But peculiarly enough these associates of Caitanya conceived these four forms of Pūrī in various ways and some amount of Buddhistic principles were also noticed in their ideologies, although Buddhism was given a death blow as soon as the Bhaumakaras' rule was extinct from the land.<sup>7</sup>

The second half of the 15th century<sup>8</sup> is generally regarded as the formative period of the new ideology of the Jagannātha cult. It had its finest florescence in the 16th century, when the five great associates—Balarāma, Jagannātha, Yaśovanta, Ananta and Acyuta appeared and gave it a noble exposition. These five associates of Śrī Caitanya preached the gospel of devotion based on knowledge and Yoga in preference to the doctrine of emotional love and faith as



professed by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. Their contributions to the Cult of Jagannātha are so great that these five poet-sages are not only regarded as the five elements constituting Jagannātha, but also are considered sometimes as the very essence of the Lord,—a living god enshrined in the hearts of the children of the soil. 'The Muslims now and then disturbed the visible Jagannātha but they were totally powerless against the invisible one'. This invisible Jagannātha is no doubt the ideology of the Jagannātha cult that not only pervaded the whole of Orissa, but also inspired the Hindus of India during the Islamic rule.<sup>9</sup>

Of the post-pañcasakhā philosophers who popularised the tenets of the Jagannātha cult in Orissa in the most trying period of her history, mention may be made of Divākaradāsa, the author of *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, Haridāsa, the writer of "*Mayūra Candrikā*", Govindabhaṇjā, of "*Carāṇa Sudhānidhi*", Nanda Dāsa, of "*Anākāra Saṁhitā*", Ratnākara Dāsa of "*Sārasvata Gītā*", Kṛpāsindhu Dāsa, of "*Caturdhā Mūrti Varnanā*", Śikhara Dāsa of "*Nilasundara Gītā*", Nāthiā of "*Jñānodaya Koilī*", Dvārakādāsa of "*Parace Gītā*" and "*Premarasa Candrikā*" and last but not the least Candramaṇi Dāsa, the author of "*Sudhāsāra Gītā*". It is impossible to take note of all the contributions of these writers in the exposition of the Jagannātha cult here, but there is no doubt that the collective efforts of these and many other writers kept the flame of the cult burning vigorously in Orissa.

It has already been pointed out that the cult of Jagannātha is formulated as a result of the remarkable synthesis between tāntric Buddhism, Nāthism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktism. The synthetic nature of this cult is clearly seen in the fact that it contains some Buddhistic conceptions in Vaiṣṇavite setting retaining at the same time the Vaiṣṇavite elements in more or less Buddhistic forms. Thus the striking interaction between these two important faiths cannot but remain a matter of great interest to the students of Indian culture, and attempts have been made below to examine the nature of it.

#### *The Ideology of Śūnya :*

The most characteristic ideology behind Jagannātha formulated by the Pañcasakhās is the predominance of the concept of *Śūnya*. There can be no doubt that this fundamental concept is a continuation of the Vajrayāna idea of the void accepted by Vaiṣṇavism after identifying it with the Vedāntic ideal of Nirguṇa Brahma. Balarāmadāsa in the first chapter of his "*Sārasvata Gītā*" declares that *Śūnya* and *Brahma* are identical ideas,<sup>10</sup> and in his "*Siddhānta Ḍambaru*", he presents a Bijamantra which reads ; "Om salutation to Śūnya-Brahma".<sup>11</sup> It may be pointed out here that Brahma in its Saguṇa aspect is perceived in the



world-manifestations, while in its Nirguṇa form it is conceived as the prime mover behind all such manifestations. But its association with the conception of vacuity gives rise to a new ideology which appears to be the same as that of the *Abhūta Parikalpa* of Vijñānavāda, where the world-manifestations become unrecognisably unified with Śūnya.<sup>12</sup>

*The Conception of Vajrasattva as Śūnya Puruṣa :*

But these Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa differ from the Vijñānavādins, and become one with the Vajrayānists in maintaining this Śūnya as a Supreme Being—the Śūnya Puruṣa, who appears to be the same as Vajrasattva. Acyutānandadāsa in his "*Śūnya-Saṁhitā*" states—"You have well asked me of the esoteric mystery. The Śūnya Puruṣa is just a prisoner in Śūnya, and creating all illusions. He remains quite indifferent to them. But at the same time, He is very kind to all and He also resides in all the created things. Moreover, He is well versed in crafty devices, and so is the author of all sorts of performances".<sup>13</sup> He further emphasises in his "*Nitya Rāsa*", that the Supreme Entity not only creates the whole universe, but also He sports inside "Śūnya" with His permanent associates which is described as "*Nitya Rāsa*". In the "*Virāṭa Gītā*" of Balarāmadāsa we find Arjuna entertaining doubts as to "how the Śūnya Puruṣa, who has neither form nor figure, who is void personified, and whose body is the Śūnya, can possess a name?"<sup>14</sup> and Kṛṣṇa then removes his doubts by explaining him the subtle principles of the creation of this universe.

Caitanyadāsa, a contemporary of the Pāñcāsakhās, declares in his "*Viṣṇu-garbha Purāṇa*" that the Incomprehensible Being has neither form nor colour; He is the great void and He has no existence; He is not a shape, and shapeless is His body and so he remains in Śūnya with the Śūnya. One who possesses a body cannot describe the secret of His form, because even Veda fails to depict His merit.<sup>15</sup> The same writer states in his "*Nirguṇa Mahātmya*", "The beginningless and the shapeless Lord fulfils the desire for emancipation of the living creatures. In the belief of the devotees He resides in all the material bodies, and so the merit of this Īśvara, who is for the well-being of the universe, is unknowable. For the good of the pious He assumes the comprehensible form in the void".<sup>16</sup>

Almost all the writings of many other Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa are replete with similar brilliant descriptions of the Śūnya Puruṣa who is sometimes called Virāṭa Puruṣa, Nirākāra, and Ādi Brahma; and the same ideas may also be traced in the description of Vajrayānists. The "*Jñānasiddhi*", for instance,



states, "He (Vajra Sattva) is the Being without origin and end, the all good, the soul-substance of all, the enlightened one including in Him all the static and the dynamic".<sup>17</sup> In the "*Śrī-Vajra-Maṇḍalā-lāṅkāra*" quoted in the *Jñānasiddhi* it is said "He eternally belongs to all the elements, to all the beings—He remains pervading all the bodies in the form of the flow of consciousness; He is immutable, unthinkable, pure, passionless, perfect void like the sky, free from existence and non-existence".<sup>18</sup> Examples of this type need not be multiplied here, but they abound in the Vajrayāna works like "*Prajñopāya Vinīcaya Siddhi*", "*Advayavajra Saṁgraha*", "*Hevajra Tantra*", "*Saṃpūṭika*", etc. The Śūnya Puruṣa of the Jagannātha cult as expressed in pañcasakhā literature in Orissa is an expression of "*Chidvilas*" embodying thereby the conception of the Vajrasattva of Tāntric Buddhism. It may also be pointed out both Śūnyapuruṣa and Vajrasattva are alike regarded as the nondual state of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā, and are characterised as the Primal Enlightened One—Ādi Buddha or Ādi Brahma.

#### *Representation of the Dhyānī Buddhas :*

The theory of five Dhyānī Buddhas, expounded in Tāntric Buddhism, has found a striking exposition in "*Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa*" of Caitanyadāsa, where it has been given a novel Vaiṣṇavite setting. This great philosopher conceives of six Viṣṇus, one of which known as Nirākāra Viṣṇu is characterised as the shapeless and figureless Śūnya and hence, is the same as *Vajrasattva*, while the other five who are emanations of Alekha Puruṣa, do undoubtedly resemble the five Dhyānī Buddhas, Vairocana, Akṣobha, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amogha Siddhi. The tradition about the position of the Pañca-Dhyānī Buddhas in the Maṇḍalas and similar mystic diagrams, is also to be found in literature. In the "*Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa*" the six Viṣṇus including Nirākāra Viṣṇu are given similar positions in the Śūnya Maṇḍala.<sup>19</sup> Even the colour scheme found in the Buddhist pantheon is not missed, and in the manner of the Six Tathāgatas these six Viṣṇus are represented in different colours like white, yellow, saffron, red, blue and green.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, as the five Tathāgatas have their respective Bodhi-sattvas, four of these Viṣṇus have four Brahmas of their own, who are credited with the creation of eighty-four worlds. It may also be pointed out that the conception of the five Tathāgatas, is present in the Yogic speculation of the Jagannātha Cult, where five out of the six plexuses (Ṣaṭcakra) of the human body are presided over by five Devas, viz. Gaṇeśa, Kāmadeva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the sixth one by Anādi, the analogue of Ādi Buddha. The noticeable fact is that the five Devas are represented with a number of accessories i.e. the divine Śaktis, *Vāhanas* (Mounts), Bijamantras, Colours, Karmas (Actions), Prāṇas, and vital winds almost in the manner of the five Tathāgatas (Dhyānī Buddhas); the minor differences existing between the accessorial schemes of the



Dhyāni Buddhas and the Devas are very probably due to the assimilative nature of the Jagannātha Cult itself.<sup>21</sup> (as expounded in the Pañcasakhā literature).

*The Theory of Cosmogony :*

According to the Aīśvarika school of Tāntric Buddhism<sup>22</sup> the visible world is created as a result of the union between Ādi Buddha and Ādi Prajñā, and this conception with some modification is noticed in the speculative philosophy of the Jagannātha cult. In the case of the latter Ādi Prajñā is represented by Yogamāyā, also named as Ādi Śakti and Ardha-Mātrā, who remains immanent in the void.<sup>23</sup> According to Tāntric Buddhism, the Buddha first came out of Ādi Prajñā and then uniting with her created the visible world—a process, which corresponds exactly with the Śaiva conception of creation where Ādi Śakti is considered first as mother and then as wife of Śiva.<sup>24</sup> But in the case of the Cult of Jagannātha this idea of the union between the mother and the son appears repugnant, and so is *a priori* discarded. On the other hand, it has been stated that when Nirākāra or Śūnya Puruṣa was desirous of creation, there generated from his body the natural energy consisting of five elements, viz. Ūrma, Dhūrma, Jyoti, Jvālā, and Vindu. No sooner these fell on the sea of causation then Yogamāyā, or Ādi Śakti was born.<sup>25</sup> Time (Kālarūpa), who was hitherto in deep slumber, now rose up from the same sea, but He was unable to stand by Himself in spite of His repeated attempts.<sup>26</sup> Yogamāyā asked Him to assume the form of the adamant phallus (Vajra Kīlā), whereupon He requested Her to be the Śakti, so that He would penetrate into Her and would remain still. The Devī agreed to this and as a result of their union the process of creation was given a start.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, according to the speculation of these Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa the whole process of creation is the result of the union of space (Yoga-māyā)<sup>28</sup> and time (Kālarūpa), symbolically expressed as the union of the primordial Śakti and phallus. In this connection an ideological similarity between Tāntric Buddhism and this form of Vaiṣṇavism may also be noted. In the case of the former the factors of cosmogony i.e. Ādi Buddha, Prajñā (the first mother) and the created world are symbolised as the well known triad Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, whereas in the case of the latter, the Śūnya Puruṣa is taken as Jagannātha, Yogamāyā as Subhadrā and Kālarūpa as Baḷabhadra (also given the names of Virāṭa, Ananta and Śeṣa).<sup>29</sup>

But the theory of cosmogony does not end here and these philosophers of the Jagannātha cult have tried to introduce some mystic elements in the process of universal creation. According to them, when the genital fluid (Vindu) fell



into the womb of Yogamāyā she brought forth a twin known as Rā—Ma, *Rā* denoting the universal Jīva (life) and *Ma* the universal Parama (Soul).<sup>30</sup> 'Ma' was Kṛṣṇa, while the love emotion (Premarasa) of both of them was personified as Premarūpa who conceived and gave birth to Tripurā. This Tripurā represented the three qualities *Satva*, *Raja* and *Tama*, and her body was identical with the three worlds (*Puras*)—the celestial (*Svarga*), the terrestrial (*Marītya*), and the nether (*Pātala*) worlds. Tripurā is variously called as Ādi Durgā, Mahāmāyā and *Maha Durgā*, and She is represented as having ten hands denoting ten directions of the universe.<sup>31</sup>

These Vaiṣṇavas, further conceived of an eternal region (Nitya Sthāḷa) known as Goloka Maṇḍala, where the eternal Rādhā representing the universal Jīva, and eternal Kṛṣṇa the universal Parama, enjoy the eternal *Rasa* sport.<sup>32</sup> It is stated that there are six corners of this eternal *Rāsa* arena, which are presided over by six Sakhīs in the form of six angles, who are Subhadrā, Raṅgadevī, Līlāvati, Priyavati, Vṛndāvatī and Ratnarekhā.<sup>33</sup> Very probably, this Goloka Maṇḍala has been conceived after the esoteric Maṇḍala or Cakra of Goddess Prajñā in Vajrāyana theology ; where there are four corners and four (sometimes six) gates, presided over by four (or six) Śaktis. In *Hevajra* tantra, for example, we find four corners and four gates of this Śūnya Cakra, each gate being in charge of the following Śaktis : Gaurī in the east, Saurī in the south, Vetālī in the west and Ghasmarī in the north ; and besides, there are two other Śaktis i.e. Bhucārī and Khecārī in charge of the lower and upper regions respectively.<sup>34</sup>

Further, influence of Buddhism in connection with eternal *Rāsa* arena may be traced from the following story narrated by Acyutānanda in his *Śūnya Saṁhita* (Chapter IX). One day when the Mundane Kṛṣṇa was pining for Rādhā's company his Aṣṭapattavaṁśīs (eight chief queens or consorts), namely—Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Tulasī and others asked him of the reason of his anguish, and to them Kṛṣṇa explained that he was an amorous lover of Rādhā, and that their dual bodies were just like the two cotyledons of the same seed.<sup>35</sup> Then he narrated before them the divine glories of the Goloka Maṇḍala where the eternal Kṛṣṇa sports with the eternal Rādhā, and the eight chief queens were thereupon desirous of having a glimpse at the eternal Rādhā. All these queens accompanied by Sudāmā and the mundane Kṛṣṇa sat on the back of Garuḍa who flew towards Goloka. But while they were at a distance of two *Yojanas* from the *Rāsa* arena, all of them including Garuḍa fainted at the glare of countless suns and after coming to their senses, they decided to go back to Dvārakā. But Kṛṣṇa and Tulasī together could manage to advance one more *Yojana*, followed by the fortunate Sudāmā. At this time Buddhamātā, one of the eight associates of



Tripurā (Mahāmāyā) the Guardian-Angel of the Rāsa arena, came to Sudāmā and astonishingly congratulated him for his entry into that sphere. She told him that, the Rāsa arena being a Śūnya Maṇḍala, none but those who practised the Nirākāra (formless) Mantra could enter<sup>36</sup> and as he had been able to come by virtue of his devotion to Jagannātha, She was inclined to teach him that Mantra. Hearing this Sudāmā fell at the feet of Buddhamātā, and she out of compassion gave him the Mantra with the instruction on the tenet of the "Thirtytwo letters".<sup>37</sup>

This discussion reveals the remarkable assimilative power of the cult of Jagannātha in its interesting speculation on cosmogony. We notice here that the universal Jīva represented as eternal—Rādhā and the universal Parama as eternal Kṛṣṇa originated as a result of the union of Space and Time, and that these Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the embodiment of the void, enjoy eternal Rāsa sport in the mystic Goloka arena which is nothing but the void region. Again, the void Mantra is characterised as the only help for attaining to that region, and the significant fact is that this Mantra is inculcated by the compassionate Buddhamātā, an associate of Tripurā, who is identical with the three universes. Thus, the cosmogonical theory of Orissan Vaiṣṇavism and the Jagannātha cult is a mystic and idealistic one; although it contains a great amount of originality, some Buddhist scholars are of opinion that it is based on the Sarva Śūnyatā doctrine of Buddhism.

#### *The Nirākāra Mantra of Thirtytwo Syllables :*

Let us now examine the composition and the nature of the Nirākāra Mantra, consisting of thirty-two letters, as, it is also one of the important features of the cult. It should be remembered in this connection that the origin and unfolding of these thirty-two letters resemble closely the process of creation, discussed above, and in fact, both the processes are almost one and identical. The Śūnya Puruṣa, who cannot be represented in any comprehensible letter or figure is given the name Alekha and is, therefore, regarded as "Aṅākṣara"; when Yogamāyā in the form of Śakti unites with Kālarūpa who assumes the shape of adamant phallus, Vindu is added to Ardhamātrā, and thus is created the letter 'Om', which, although phonologically composed of three sounds i.e. a u m is regarded here as "Ekākṣara" or one letter. This Om, which resembles in shape the mythical snake Ananta is supposed to be the cradle of the Suṣumnā Veda (Śiṣu Veda) and is also called the "Avāṇi Maṇḍala", the mystic circle.<sup>38</sup> After Ekākṣara Om, the two letters "Rā—and Mā" come into origin, which are characterised as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and the love emotion between them is given form as Premarūpa also known as Candrāvalī. Thus, we get the trio-Chandrāvalī, Rādhā



and *Kṛṣṇa*, who are represented in Tribija form as *Hliṁ* (Lājyā Bija), *Sliṁ* (Rājabija), and *Kliṁ* (Kāma bija) respectively.<sup>39</sup> This Tribija being transformed into Mantra becomes "Here Rāma Kṛṣṇa", which is the famous Mantra of three names and six letters of these Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa. These six syllables are further regarded as the six corners of the mystic Goloka-Maṇḍala. The *Prma Bhakti Brahma Gītā* says that Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa reveals himself to Arjuna as this Tribija Mantra of six syllables, which is also described as Mahāmantra, it being as great and as sacred as Jagannātha himself. Out of this Mantra (Hare-Rāma-Kṛṣṇa) was developed the Mantra of 32 letters—*Hare Rāma Hare Rāma Rāma Rāma Hare Hare Hare Kṛṣṇa Hare Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Hare Hare*. Each syllable contains two letters, for e.g. 'Rāma' has two letters, 'Rā', 'Ma'. The four Kṛṣṇas are stated to be Lilāṅga Kṛṣṇa, Stoka Kṛṣṇa, Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Bāla Kṛṣṇa, whereas, the four Rāmas are called Virāṭa, Baḷabhadra, Śeṣadeva and Ananta; and out of the eight Hares, four are regarded as the associates of the Kṛṣṇa group, while the other four are classed in the Rāma group. The associates of the Kṛṣṇa group are named as Rādhā, Candrāvalī, Dutī and Tripurā; and those of the Rāma group are Rāmaratnā, Rāmāyaṇī, Revatī and Yogamāyā.<sup>40</sup> It also goes to prove that an attempt has been made by these scholars of Orissa to assimilate both the cults of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa into Jagannātha cult.

The discussion about the composition of the 'Nirākāra Mantra' brings forth three very important ideas of the cult of Jagannātha, which feature very often in the writings of the philosophers of this cult. In the first place, it shows that although these philosophers accept the ideology concerning Gopīs and Rādhā, they do not treat it in the same passionate manner as is done by the Vaiṣṇavas of Mithilā and Bengal. The conception of the Goloka arena as the region of Śūnya, of which the Gopīs are merely the component parts, has entirely changed this ideology, and the love dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is looked upon by them as the creative rhythm that takes place in the bosom of the great vacuity. In the light of this, the constituent units of the Nirākāra Mantra i.e. the four Kṛṣṇas, four Rāmas and eight Hares are all but manifestations of vacuity; and the proper realisation of this Māntra is the only way of attaining the stage of vacuity.

Secondly the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas of this order appear to have made an attempt to identify this Nirākāra Mantra not only with Lord Jagannātha, but also with His four emanations, viz. Jagannātha, Subhadrā, Baḷabhadra and Sudarśana. We have already noted how the Mantra of six syllables; "*Here Rāma Kṛṣṇa*" has been explained in terms of the limbs of the image of Jagannātha. Yośovantadāsa further states that even the four syllables "*Hare-Kṛṣṇa*", which are but a part of the whole Mantra, represent the four images in the following



manner; 'Ha' stands for Subhadrā (Bhadra-Sakha), 'Ra' for Bāḷadeva the consort of Revatī, 'Kṛ' for Jagannātha and 'Sna' for Sudarśana.<sup>41</sup> Thus the Mantra and the deities are made identical with one another, and they are considered as the representation of the complete void. Acyutānanda, in his "*Śūnya Saṁhitā*", strongly asserts that the Jagannātha tetrad is shapeless and formless void,<sup>42</sup> and that the worshipper, who possesses the void body like his God, should not put faith in his corporeal existence; considering the phenomenal world to be void he should worship Śūnya Puruṣa by the Nirākāra Mantra.<sup>43</sup> Evidently these Vaiṣṇavas follow here the fundamental principles of Vajrayāna Buddhism, according to which, the deities, the Mantras, the worshipper and the materials of worship are all characterised as complete void.

Lastly, it seems quite clear that the philosophers of this school have made constant efforts to reconcile principles of vacuity and eternity. The Goloka Maṇḍala, which is regarded as a space of the void is at the same time described as the eternal region, and Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs of the Rāsa sport are all represented as embodiment of both *Śūnya* and *Nitya*. If Lord Jagannātha is characterised as Alekha and Śūnya Puruṣa, He is also regarded as the great *Brahma* and the *Nitya Puruṣa*. The ideological synthesis between *Śūnya* and *Nitya* has also been given a tangible form by making the temple of Jagannātha (Niḷagiri) identical with Goloka and declaring *Nitya* and the Niḷagiri as one and the same concepts.<sup>44</sup>

#### *The System of Yoga :*

The most important aspect of the cult of Jagannātha is its elaborate system of *Yoga* which is mainly based upon the *Hathayoga*. The aims of *Yoga* system are to control disease, decay and death through physical culture and to realise the Alekha Nirāñjana (the formless and the spotless) by transmuting the subtler body into a gross physical super-conscious one.<sup>45</sup> The theory of the six plexuses (*Ṣaṭ Cakra*) the Thousand petalled Lotus (*Sahasrāra*) and that of the three mystic nerves i.e. *Idā*, *Pīṅgalā*, *Suṣumnā* giving the processes of breath control like *Pūraka*, *Kumbhaka* and *Recaka* together with various practices of *Mudrās* and *Bandhas* are taken in more or less modified form by these Vaiṣṇavas from earlier Tantra-Yoga practices. They also name after '*Hatha Yoga*', their Yoga system as '*Ghaṭa Yoga*'<sup>46</sup> which means the Yoga of the body (*Ghaṭa*).

It is, impossible to describe here in detail the elaborate Yogic processes of the Jagannātha Cult so we simply present below the salient features of it with a view to pointing out its distinctive nature. The Yogic philosophers of Orissa seem to have made a thorough survey of the whole nervous system of the human body, and they counted altogether 72 thousand nerves from the naval region of



the body.<sup>47</sup> Out of these 72 thousand, only ten nerves are considered to be essential for Yogic practices and they are named as *Idā*, *Piṅgalā*, *Suṣumnā*, *Gāndhārī*, *Hastijihvā*, *Pūṣā*, *Yasvini*, *Alambuṣā*, *Kūhū* and *Śāṅkhini*. But only the first three nerves are regarded as the most important ones, and they are located inside the spinal column—*Idā* on the left, *Piṅgalā* on the right and *Suṣumnā* in the middle—running parallel to one another. These three mystic nerves meet together inside the forehead in between the two eyes; where both the nostrils meet, the juncture is known as "*Trikūṭa*".<sup>48</sup> Above this *Trikūṭa* there is a small slit known as the "*Brahmarandhra*" leading to the region of *Alekha*, and the valve of the slit is as delicate as the skin of the sesame seed.<sup>49</sup> The *Sādhaka* is to raise the vital wind upward through *Suṣumnā* and keep it in the *Trikūṭa*,<sup>50</sup> and then opening the gate of *Brahmarandhra*, should concentrate upon *Alekha*, whereby he would easily conquer *Yama* the God of death.<sup>51</sup> The vital energy or the life-force, conceived in the nature of the coiled snake and hence, called *Kuṇḍalinī*, is taken to be tending downward in the case of the ordinary human being who fritters it away in various wordly indulgences. In Yogic *Sādhana* this vital force is to be given an upward direction, which is called the "*Uḷṭa*" or "*Ujāni*" (reverse) *Sādhana* implying a process of reversal from the world of *Pravṛtti* to the state of *Nivṛtti*.<sup>52</sup>

There are six 'Cakras' in the human body, and *Kuṇḍalinī* in her reverse (*Uḷṭa*) ascent towards *Nivṛtti*, is to gradually pass through them, marking the different stages of *Yoga*. The final stage, however, is reached when the slit at the top of the *Trikūṭa* can be opened by constant Yogic concentration allowing thus the *Kuṇḍalinī* to get through the *Vankunāla* to the *Brahma Cakra*, situated inside the cavity of the head below the skull.<sup>53</sup> This *Brahma Cakra* is also called the '*Sahasrāra*', the thousand petalled Lotus which is as luminous as the rays of a thousand suns and is described as the incomprehensible region of *Alekha*. The upward journey of the *Kuṇḍalinī* towards the *Sahasrāra* is considered as the march of the finite towards the infinite, and their union is taken to be the dalliance of *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa* in eternal *Rāsa* arena. Moreover, the *Brahma Cakra* or the thousand petalled Lotus is regarded as the seat of *Jagannātha*. *Acyutānanda* in his *Chayalīsa Paṭala*, and *Balarāmadāsa* in *Viraṭa Gītā* identify the human body in all its aspects with the temple of *Jagannātha*, making the *Sahasrāra* region the seat of the great Lord.<sup>54</sup> *Divākaradāsa* conceives of the temple itself as the thousand petalled Lotus.<sup>55</sup> The logical corollary is that these Orissan Vaiṣṇavas visualise the union of *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa* as the image of *Jagannātha*. In other words, *Jagannātha* to them is not only the visible expression of the incomprehensible *Alekha Brahma* but also the nondual conception of both *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa*.<sup>56</sup>



*The Guru Vāda :*

One of the important features of the Yoga system of the Jagannātha cult is the Guru Vāda, as well as the principle of "Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa". The complex and arduous nature of *Yoga* necessarily requires the help and guidance of a *Guru* (preceptor), and as in the case of Tāntric Buddhism, he is invariably held in the highest regard, and is even openly declared as a substitute for God. Balarāmadāsa in his *Gupta Gītā*, says—"Guru is *Brahmā*, *Hari* and *Hara*, and He is also the formless void himself".<sup>57</sup> Acyutānanda in the same strain declares : "The Formless one that remains immanent in the *Śūnya* incarnates in *Kaliyuga* in the form of the *Guru* for the good of man".<sup>58</sup> This *Guru Vāda* is also accepted in almost the same sense and spirit in the Upaniṣadic and Purāṇic literature of the Hindus and may not, therefore, be regarded as the monopoly of the Tāntric Buddhists. In the case of the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas, however Lord Jagannātha is regarded as the ultimate *Guru* not only of the individual, but also of the whole universe.<sup>59</sup>

*The Theory of "Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa" :*

The principle of identifying the human body with the universe is markedly present in the Yogic philosophy of the Jagannātha cult. All the Oriya philosophers declare in almost the same voice that the entire universe is located within the body and that the *Piṇḍa* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* are one and the same.<sup>60</sup> In "*Saptāṅga Yogasāra Ṭīkā*" of Balarāmadāsa and "*Śiva Svarodaya*" of Yaśovanta Dāsa, the various phases of time, i.e. day, night, week, month etc. are explained with reference to the functions of the vital winds in the nervous system, and it has also been repeatedly pointed out that by controlling the vital wind one might escape the malignant influence of the "Whirl of time" (*Kāla Cakra*).<sup>61</sup> This concept in the cult of Jagannātha might have also been partly due to the influence of the Yoga system of the *Kāla Cakra Yāna* of Tāntric Buddhism. In the *Gupta Gītā* Kṛṣṇa explains to Arjuna the theory of *Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa* attributing the sacred places of Orissa to the limbs of the human body in the following manner. "Your feet represent Yājapura, the pleasure-ground of Varāhanātha and the seat of the Goddess Virajā, and to the north of it lies the region of Yama. The waist that represents Kataka, is the home of the Goddess Vāseḷī, and the east of it is Vajakati the place of her haunt. Your abdomen represents the hill Khaṇḍagiri, the secret of the Siddhas and the navel represents Bhubaneśvara, while the belly is the same as Tuḷasī Caurā (Tuḷasīpura). Haṭeśvara, the seat of the son of Pārvaṭi (Kārtikeya) is represented in your right hand, and Candrabhāgā in your left hand while the throat is no other than the famous Atharajā of Purī. The cavity of the mouth is the lion gate (Siṃhadvāra) of



the temple of Jagannātha, where stand Jaya and Vijaya the mythical gate-keepers while the left and the right nostrils are guarded respectively by Kumbhakarna and Rāvaṇa. The author proceeds in a similar manner and finally asserts that the white portion, the black portion and the pupil of the eyes are to be respectively recognised as Baḷabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannātha.

*The Great Lord Jagannātha :*

The discussions about the speculative thoughts and Yogic system of the Jagannātha cult prove the tendency of these Vaiṣṇavas to make the Jagannātha concept the most salient and the central feature of this faith. The most significant factor in the faith of the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas as stated before is the identification of Lord Jagannātha with Lord Buddha, and it may be pointed out that in this case these poet-philosophers (*Pañcasakhās* and some of their contemporaries) appear to have followed the traditions left by the Buddhist Siddhas. Much earlier in the 8th Century A.D., the Uddiyāna king Indrabhūti, the reputed systematiser of Vajrayāna, is found paying obeisance to Jagannātha in the opening verses of his '*Jñāna Siddhi*' with the following words : "Lord Jagannātha who is the same as all the Buddhas, and who as all pervading Siddhi is compared to the sky, is worshipped by all the highest Jinās ; He is the giver of all, the omniscient of the essence of all and the best of all the Vajrayānists. After bowing low before Him with all my feelings and devotion, I now enunciate His great *Sadhanā*".<sup>62</sup> Anāṅgavajra, who is regarded as the preceptor of Indrabhūti, declares that "Jagannātha the worshipful Lord, is the giver of all *artha* and *siddhi*".<sup>63</sup> Coming to the Dharma cult, we find almost the same tendency of identifying Jagannātha with Lord Buddha, who, in this case, is but one of the incarnations of Hari. The "*Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna*", an authentic book of this cult states ; "In the ninth incarnation God was born as Jagannātha, who was none but Lord Buddha, and He settled His residence on the sea coast, where He has relieved the whole world by distributing to all (irrespective of caste and creed) His *Prasāda*".<sup>64</sup> It may be pointed out in this connection that among the ten incarnations of God, inscribed on the gateway of the Jagannātha temple in Pūrī, Buddha the ninth incarnation, has been represented by Jagannātha, a fact which thus clearly corroborates the statement of the *Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna*. In the same work it has further been said that the Lord revealed Himself as Jagannātha to unite together the Hindus and the Muslims in his land (i.e. Orissa), while in the country of Gauḍa He revealed Himself as the Dharmarāja.<sup>65</sup>

With this tradition behind them the poet-sages of Jagannātha cult, not only presented the cosmic picture of Jagannātha by their supernormal vision, but also they looked upon Him as the Buddha and burst out into rapturous



songs in praise of His glory. Sāraḷādāsa in the Sabhā Parva of his *Mahābhārata* prays : "Jagannātha, you are present here as the Buddha for the deliverance of the people of the world".<sup>66</sup> The same devotional expression is found in various places of the Ādi, Vana, Muṣāḷi, and the Śalya Parvas of his famous work. Jagannātha Dāsa while narrating the legendary origin of Jagannātha in his "*Dāru Brahma Gītā*" and "*Deula Tola*" asserts the identification of the deity with the Buddha. In the "*Dāru Brahma Gītā*", for instance, he writes, "After the sixth day (in the course of His formation), His hands and feet became feeble and He then discarded them in order to be the Buddha".<sup>67</sup> Acyutānanda Dāsa, in many places of "*Śūṅya-Saṁhitā*" declares in clear terms that Jagannātha is no other than the Buddha. Addressing Him, he says : "Lord, You will enjoy as the Buddha in the Kāliyuga the oblations of the devotees on the shore of Mahodadhi ( the Great sea )."<sup>68</sup> Elsewhere in the same book Jagannātha Himself is supposed to have said, "Hearken to us, Oh, Acyuta, in this Kāliyuga we have again appeared as Buddha, and thus disguising ourselves as Buddha, we have incurred the curse of the Muṇis."<sup>69</sup> Even Pratāpa Ray, the writer of "*Śaṁṣi-seṇā*" declares "Hari Himself is present in the sanctuary of Śrī Niḷagiri (the Jagannātha temple, Purī) in the form of the Buddha."<sup>70</sup> Examples of this kind abound in the writings of these Vaiṣṇavas, who as worshippers of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, are attracted at the same time towards the Buddha and Buddhism. It may be said that Kṛṣṇa who is born in Mathurā, is brought up at Gopa, and subsequently becomes the ruler of Dvārakā, is regarded by these philosophers as a part of Jagannātha. Jagannātha, to them, is the embodiment of sixteen divine attributes, and Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Jagannātha and as the son of Nanda, possesses only one attribute (Kaḷā).<sup>71</sup> Acyutānanda has rightly said that the Jagannātha is the possessor of 16 Kaḷās and He is responsible for the creation of ten incarnations. All these incarnations are completely lost in Him. This is also supported by unbroken tradition current in Orissa. At other places worship is made to the *Avatāras* only but in Jagannātha kṣetra *Pūrṇa Brahma* is worshipped. This is the unique feature in the conception of Pañcasakhās of Orissa. Various attempts have been made to identify Kṛṣṇa with Jagannātha. But the poet-philosophers of Orissa do not accept this view. They want to respect the agelong tradition that Jagannātha is Puruṣottama and He is the creator of all the things of the world. Śrī Caitanya is, likewise, regarded by the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas as the manifestation of only one attribute of Jagannātha, and in '*Śūṅya Saṁhitā*' Lord Jagannātha says, "My attribute will go to Navadvīpa and will manifest itself as Caitanya."<sup>72</sup> Īśvaradāsa, however, in his "*Caitanya Bhāgavata*" identifies Śrī Caitanya with the Buddha, and in this text the Lord declares "as mankind will be 'inconscient' (*Acheta*) with ignorance, I shall appear as Caitanya (embodiment of consciousness), and imparting words



of wisdom, shall be known as the incarnation of the Buddha.<sup>73</sup> To avoid confusion, it may here be pointed out that Buddha and Caitanya are all regarded by the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnations of Jagannātha, and if sometimes the latter is identified with Buddha or Kṛṣṇa, He is then looked upon as Ādi Buddha or Ādiviṣṇu respectively.

Another important feature of the Orissan Vaiṣṇavism of the 16th century is the concept of Subhadrā who is conceived as *Guru* and is thus placed in the middle. Balabhadra is the *śiṣya* and is placed first in the order ; Jagannātha is Bhagavān and placed last in order. The *śiṣya* with the help of *Guru* will attain *sāyujya* with Bhagavān. So the order is *Śiṣya*, *Guru*, *Bhagavān*, or Hare Rāma Kṛṣṇa. They are represented by three *bijas* namely *Hliṁ*, *Sliṁ*, and *Kliṁ*.<sup>73a</sup> Two more *bija* mantras—1. *Dhliṁ* for Sudarśana and 2. *Pliṁ* for Ratnavedī are also added.

Further, these deities have again been conceived as 'Vedamaya Puruṣas'.<sup>73b</sup> Baṭarāma Dāsa in his *Gupta Gītā* describes these four deities as representing the four vedas. Balabhadra stands for *Sāma*, Subhadrā for *Ṛk*, Jagannātha for *Tajus* and Sudarśana for *Atharva* Veda. This is supported by *Skanda Purāṇa* as well as *Nīlādri Mahodaya* with some variation. Again in the order of trinity, Subhadrā is conceived as Brahmā, other two as Viṣṇu and Maheśvara respectively.<sup>73c</sup>

Still Another aspect suggested by Servus Servorum, a Christian missionary in his book 'Mysticism in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri', Ch. III, P. 45, supports the mystical aspect of this trinity. According to him "the Trinity are the first manifestations of existence and each of the trio represents an active principle. One is therefore led to think that the trio Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are the mystic representation of these three fundamental aspects of Viṣṇu (Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Kāla).

In spite of all the various ideas advocated by the Pañcasakhās, the brāhminical element seems to have attempted to make the institution of Jagannātha a stronghold of the Brāhminical orthodoxy. The rites and worship of Jagannātha are performed by them in the Brāhminical manners and mantras. The Brāhminical literature that developed centering round Jagannātha contained ideas of vedic and tāntric forms of religion, for example, the Bija Mantras "*Puruṣasūkta*" and "*Oṃ Kāra*" are profusely used in worship.

An illuminating suggestion\* revealing the mystery of Praṇava was made by Acyutānanda Dāsa. According to him the Ratnavedī (Sinhāsana), Sudarśana and the three icons, Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā all are mounted in the figure called Oṃkāryantra. This yantra is constituted of five mātṛās or marks which have been termed by the poet as Nāda, Vindu, Daṇḍaka, Tāraka and Kuṇḍaḷi : When these marks are conjoined, they form the letter "OM" of the Indian especially alphabet of Oriya which again is the outline of the image of Jagannātha himself. The five mātṛās symbolise the original divine principles, their image forms in the Jagannātha cult and also the bija mantras as shown in the table below.

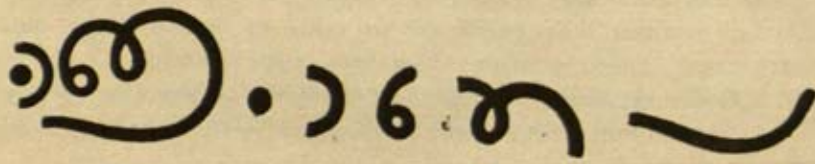
<i>Mātṛās</i>	<i>Divine Principles</i>	<i>Image</i>	<i>Bija mantras</i>
1. Nāda	Mūla Prakṛti (Basic principle)	Sinhāsana	Plīm
2. Vindu	Mūla Brahma	Sudarśana	Dhīm
3. Daṇḍaka	Viṣṇu	Jagannātha	Klīm
4. Tāraka	Brahmā	Subhadrā	Slīm
5. Kuṇḍaḷi	Śiva	Baḷabhadra	Hlīm

Further the following diagrammatic presentation of 'OM' in five mātṛās will show that five is an elemental number and the five mātṛās symbolise the entire world of existence resolved in terms of five. Thus Jagannātha as manifested in the form of Oṃkāra, stands for the summation of all things and the Oṃkāra Yantra is the most befitting form for the image of Jagannātha. In this tradition it is worth noting that Jagannātha is represented by a part of yantra (Daṇḍaka) and also as the entire yantra itself. This accounts for the predominance of Jagannātha.

\*Vide Palmleaf Ms. of Sayantra Sunya, Samhita traced and collected by the author and presented to Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar for preservation.



DIAGRAMATIC PRESENTATION OF "OM" AS ADVOCATED BY THE LATER  
SCHOOL OF PAÑCASAKHĀ PHILOSOPHERS OF ORISSA. (\*)



Name of Pañca Mātrās	Name of Pañca Varnas or Letters	Pañca Devas	Pañca Vijās	Pañca Namas	Pañca Aṅgas (Limbs)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bindu	Ma-kāra	Sudarśana	Plīm	Haīm	Head
Nāda or Ardha mātrā	I-kāra	Simhāsana (Throne)	Dhlim	Saim	Ear
Daṇḍaka	E-kāra	Jagannātha	Klim	Kṛṣṇa	Eye
Tāraka	U-kāra	Subhadrā	Slim	Rāma	Nose
Kuṇḍali	A-kāra	Baḷabhadra	Hlim	Hare	Mouth (Tongue)

(\*) Collected from a Palmleaf Ms. obtained from Binharpur, Cuttack (under private possession.) This division is not according to Dhvani of Omkār but according to the structure of the yantra.

Pañca Maha- bhūtas (Five elements)	Pañca Tanmātrās (Five subtle essences)	Pañca Vāyus	Pañca Manas	Pañca Sainhitās
7	8	9	10	11
Ākāśa (Sky)	Sabda (Sound)	Udāna	Amana	Akalita
Marut (Wind)	Sparsā (Touch)	Byāna	Bimana	Anāhata
Teja (Light)	Rupa (Form)	Samāna	Sumana	Jyoti
Ap (Water)	Rasa (Taste)	Apāna	Mana	Abada
Kṣhiti (Earth)	Gandha (Smell)	Prāna	Kumana	Chayā



Pañca Bata (Five Holy Banian trees)	12	Pañca Tirtha (Five Pilgrimages)	13	Pañca Sainpradāya (Five Sects)	14	Pañca Guru (Five Preceptors)	15
Kalpabāṭa		Samudra		Avadhūta		Tatva Guru	
Aṣṭabāṭa		Mārkaṇḍa		Ramānanda		Karna Guru	
Udayabāṭa		Śvetagangā		Śyāmānanda		Pitā Guru	
Bāñchābāṭa		Indradyumna		Mādhvacārya		Mātā Guru	
Baṁśibāṭa		Narendra		Nimānanda		Vidyā Guru	

Pañca Varna	Pañca Karna	Pañca Kaṣā	Pañca Diga (direction)	Pañca Sakhā	Pañca Veda
16	17	18	19	20	21
Nīla ( Blue )	Dharma	Kaṣā	Sunya (Sky)	Acyuta	Sisu
Lohita ( Red )	Kṣamā	Jvālā	Paścima (West)	Jagannātha	Atharva
Pita ( Yellow )	Dayā	Jyoti	Dakṣiṇa (South)	Ananta	Sāma
Dhumra (Grey)	Śānti	Dhurma	Pūrva (East)	Jasobanta	Yajuh
Śveta (White)	Satya	Urma	Uttara (North)	Balarāma	Rk



*Part—II : Philosophy**The Philosophy of Śrī Jagannātha reviewed in the light of the  
Puruṣottamavāda of the Gītā and other texts*

Our common knowledge of objects is dependent on sense impressions, and the apprehension becomes complete through psychical synthesis. But that which is not acquired through sense experience cannot be apprehended by the mind. The absolute spirit being beyond sense impression is necessarily not accessible to any mental or psychical act. In western philosophy Kant advocated a view similar to this and the Upaniṣadic tradition supports this idea. That is why the Absolute Reality or spirit is described as *Avān mānsagocara*, i.e. inaccessible to thought and speech. From the ordinary theoretical level of consciousness any thought of Absolute Reality leads to antinomies of pure reason according to Kant.<sup>74</sup> But where Kant stops, the Indian spiritualists take up the clue and go beyond him. The antinomies and contradictions are resolved in a higher plane of consciousness where the contradictory aspects are discovered to be essentially complementary. The solution is not offered in the Hegelian way because Hegel will not admit any qualitative or absolute distinction between levels of consciousness. With Hegel all differences are of degrees and not of kind, and so while Hegel would speak of degrees of consciousness, the Indian absolutists would speak of different levels or strata of consciousness. The synthesis of the contradictories is apprehended and realised in a mode of spiritual consciousness which is qualitatively different from our ordinary consciousness. It is on this level that the unity of the manifest and the unmanifest, the phenomenal and the noumenal, the immanent and the transcendent, the unity of *sat* (Existence) *cit* (Pure consciousness), and the revealed and the revealing is apprehended. What is peculiar in the cult of Jagannātha is that this unity is not a mere aggregate or summation of the other two aspects but a new form which though inclusive of the two previous forms was not apprehended along with them previously. The unity of *Sat* and *Cit* for instance gives *Ānanda* which comprehends the other two but at the same time goes beyond them. *Puruṣottama* comprehends both *Śuddha Puruṣa* and *Śuddhā Prakṛti*, and at the same time goes beyond the two, and in so doing becomes the Absolute *Puruṣa* as different from the Pure *Puruṣa* which is the logical opposite of *Prakṛti*. Here then is transcended the Sāṅkhya dualism between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, and not only is the plurality of *Puruṣas* resolved into unity, but we have a *Puruṣa* here which is not a collateral reality in relation to other *Puruṣas*. So the position of Sāṅkhya is not only transcended, but also the position of Yoga which conceives the Lord or *Īśvara* as a *Puruṣaviśeṣa*, that is, a superior *Puruṣa* is excelled.<sup>75</sup> What is remarkable here is the spirit of synthesis of all rival and contradictory forms, and the recognition of this synthesis



as a new fact not apprehended fully in the earlier forms (i.e. Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā).

In the religion of Jagannātha we have not only the *one* or the Advaita but we have also at the same time, the *three* forms which stand distinct and yet of which the third is a synthesis of the first two in a new and distinct form. There is Baḷabhadra there is Subhadrā and there is Jagannātha and looked at from this angle we have three forms. But again in Jagannātha Himself we have all the three together in the form of an absolute unity. So the earlier forms are transcended in the latter, and the latter form not only stands over against the earlier two, but it also becomes inclusive of the other two.

In this arrangement Baḷabhadra comes first, then Subhadrā, and last of all Jagannātha. Baḷabhadra is the noumenal or the transcendent, the unchangeable and the unqualified, the unmanifest, the pure form, like that of Aristotle, the form of the Good like that of Plato, the *sat* or pure Being of the Advaita. It is infinitude or fullness in itself and by itself. The method of apprehending this form is pure knowledge or *Śuddhajñāna*. There may be different reasons why this particular arrangement of the deities has been provided. One of those reasons may be that in the evolution of spiritual consciousness there is a tendency of consciousness at first to soar up to the transcendent, the Supramundane, the pure Being, to the form which is antithetical to and in a sense the negation of the given order of reality and nature. A Śāṅkarite would find culmination of spiritual consciousness in this abstract form; but not so the Vaiṣṇava devotee of Lord Jagannātha. After having reached the pure, the qualitless, the transcendent, he turns back upon its logical antithesis the phenomenal whole, the changeable order, the qualified, the manifest. Having reached the apprehension of pure *puruṣa* it turns again to its opposite the *Prakṛti* or the *Śakti*. From *sat* it turns back upon the existential and the revealed, from the *Naturā* *Naturans* of Spinoza to *Naturā* *Naturātā* of the same philosopher,<sup>76</sup> from the infinite which is complete in itself to the infinite which is complete in relation to the phenomenal plurality and is the source of it. This is Subhadrā and the method of realisation of this form is *karma* or "Action". But this *karma* is not ordinary *karma*, not the *karma* which goes before *jñāna*; but which follows after *jñāna* and is attended by *jñāna*. This *karma* which comes after *jñāna* culminates in *prema* or *bhakti*, and in *bhakti* or *prema* only an abstract realisation of Divinity changes into a concrete union with that Divinity. *Prema* or *bhakti* is the symbol of this union or identification. This is the reason why in the realisation of the form of Jagannātha, it is *bhakti* or *prema* which is considered to be the only method of *Sādhana*. Jagannātha is the synthesis. It is the union or unity itself and so the



mode of apprehension can only be that which is suggestive of union and so this is called love or *prema*. *Jñāna* gives the transcendent, the distant, *Karma* gives the immanent, the near or that which is close to us. But *Bhakti* gives that which is at the same time near and distant, transcendent and immanent, that which is the self and the other than the self. So there seems to be not only some logical reason for this arrangement but also some deeper spiritual reason why the order of the deities is as it is.

The images are found incomplete. This has puzzled many investigators. Some thought that the images are purely symbolical in character. Even supposing that the original forms were the products of crude and undeveloped aboriginal art, it seems astonishing that such crude forms came to be retained through all succeeding stages when Orissan art and architecture reached a stage of rare perfection. What prevented the designer of the marvellous and exquisite male and female forms in hundreds of other temples from supplanting the crude forms of deities by forms which are more intelligible and more beautiful? Even supposing that those crude forms were developed by crude methods and by people who had no training in the plastic art, the question remains why these were not replaced by other forms of more artistic built in later years? The spiritual minds of subsequent generation of the people must have discovered some mystery, some inexplicable truth in the forms on account of which the forms were retained in their original setting without any addition or alteration. History tells us that there was a time when Kālāpāhād destroyed the original images. What prevented the king Rāmacandra Deva from installing artistic images of a Baḷabhadra a Subhadra and a Jagannātha? Blind veneration of antiquity and tradition does not fully explain why the images similar to the older forms were re-installed.

It can be seen that none of the forms appears to be complete by itself. The three not only represent three forms but also represent three aspects of one whole. The incompleteness in the forms is suggestive of this inter-relation, and complementing character of the forms themselves. In a sense the forms are certainly symbolical. But they suggest or symbolise the inexplicable, the unspeakable, the unthinkable, and the absolute spirit is just that. How can that be fully represented, which is by its very nature unrepresentable, and which baffles understanding, subdues speech, and which is non-sensuous? The infinite can only be represented by forms which are by their very nature baffling to ordinary apprehension. This sublime height of conception has nowhere been attained except in the three images in the temple of Lord Jagannātha. In all other temples Gods have been carved in human forms. But the Supreme Lord Jagannātha can be shown in his Supreme form only by images, which though akin to the phenomenal or the mundane are at the



same time different and distant. So the forms have remained partly intelligible, partly un-intelligible, partly pictureable and partly unthinkable. Where do we get the suggestion of Infinite as Infinite; the unthinkable as unthinkable of a God who is not only immanent but also transcendent except in the temple of Lord Jagannātha?

Besides the three forms there is another, a formless form, called Sudarśana which also is enumerated in the total assessment of the forms. The forms are described as fourfold, (caturdhā) but while the other three are worshipped as persons this fourth called Sudarśana is worshipped as a symbol. It is not given the form of any particular thing. In the purāṇas Sudarśana is the disc which along with the conch shell and the club is an *āyudha* (weapon). The purāṇas describe how Lord Viṣṇu killed his enemies by decapitating them with the wheel. The demons Madhu, Kaitabha, Mura etc. met their end in this way. In the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa is described as the wielder of Sudarśana and with it he decapitated Śiśupāla. But this is only one aspect of the thing and not a very significant one. The *Cakra* of the Cakradhārī is also symbolical of the cycle of change. The phenomenal order or *Jagat* is ruled by the principle of change, but this law of change proceeds from the changeless—the Eternal. Again the supreme reality beyond all things is related to the given phenomenal order in a mysterious way. Sudarśana seems to stand between the given order and the unfathomable beyond. It is the principle of inscrutability of the inscrutable, the principle of mystery of the mysterious, the *Cakra* of *Cakrī*. It is by the principle of mystery of essential unintelligibility or unfathomableness, that the supreme Lord of the Universe is connected with the Universe. Sudarśana seems to be the symbol of that mystery. It symbolises Time and Change, and is connected with the unchangeable the inscrutable, and the eternal as its source. It is remarkable that, during the Rathayātrā festival this Sudarśana form is taken to the chariot first.<sup>77</sup> This seems to indicate that without the introduction of Sudarśana which is the connecting link between the three forms, the forms cannot be separately introduced. It is also remarkable that Sudarśana is not placed in the chariot of Lord Jagannātha, but placed in the chariot of Subhadrā who is the symbol of the manifest order of the changeable whole.\* This seems to suggest that the changeable infinite is not intelligible except under the shadow of the unchangeable, and this connecting link is the principle of mystery or change and this is Sudarśana. The formless form of Sudarśana is also suggestive of the fact that the changeable can be figured in some way, but the principle of change cannot be grasped in

\* "Nānābidha śaktimayusā jānayati kālātātamebadan." ("Śaivagama"). Śhe (Subhadrā) created at the outset Sudarśana which is known as Kālātātva.



any definite form. So Sudarśana has no definite form. Sudarśana is *Mahāviṣṇu* as described in *Pañcarātra Āgama*. He is *Jyoti Puruṣa* as conceived by *Pañcaskhā* philosophers of Orissa.

The three deities have different colours, *Subhadṛā*, the symbol of *Prakṛti* or *Śakti* has yellow colour. *Prakṛti* is the source of all living things and forms, which assume various colours as they grow and develop, but at the origin are characterised by yellow colour. *Baḷabhadra* who is the symbol of pure being or pure indeterminate spirit, has white colour, which is at the same time the synthesis and negation of all spectral colours. Lord *Jagannātha* has dark colour. This darkness seems to suggest the veil of mystery which surrounds the Supreme Lord. Black is no colour in itself, nor is it a synthesis of colours. It is the negation of all colours as well as colourlessness.\*

The philosophy underlying the cult of *Jagannātha* has a support in the *Puruṣottamavāda* of the *Gītā*. The *Gītā* makes the distinction between *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* and presents the Lord who is beyond both and at the same time who comprehends both of them in a new form, distinct from the other two.<sup>78</sup> The supreme Lord is incomprehensible (*acintya*). But the *kṣara* and the *akṣara* are both comprehensible. Besides there is a dualism and opposition between *kṣara* and *akṣara*; but the absolute is not opposed to any. Lord *Jagannātha* is conceived in the same way. He is other than pure *puruṣa* (*Baḷabhadra*) and *Parā Prakṛti* (*Subhadṛā*), the *kṣara* and the *akṣara*. He is neither *pariṇāmīnitya* nor *aparīṇāmīnitya*. He is beyond both, that is, neither opposed to any of them nor identical with any of them or both of them together.<sup>79</sup> Were he identical with both he could not be a deity transcendent of both and were he opposed to any of them or even opposed to both of them together he would be limited and not the infinite Lord. The Absolute is incomprehensible. This incomprehensibility of the supreme Lord is also suggested by the dark colour. "*Kṛṣṇaṇca varṇaṁ tamasājanātyaye.*" It means all the colours culminate in the dark as it is all pervading. But the incomprehensible here is not the unknowable of the agnostics. The incomprehensible is the unfathomable—that which can only be partly known and which always remains partly unknowable. The eyes of the Lord glisten with divine grace (*kṛpā*) and the supreme Lord is connected with the world of things and beings by *bhakti* or *prema*. He is both *mūrta* and *amūrta*. The *mūrta* form is *premaghana* and, the *amūrta* is *vijñānaghana*. It is this former aspect of the lord which becomes the object of worship and the method of worship is *prema bhakti* or devotion involving self-surrender

\* According to another interpretation, the three colours of the deities represent the three races of the world—white, yellow and black.



(*Prapatti*). He is not merely a *puruṣa* like the Sāṅkhya *Puruṣa* which is a bare witness, pure consciousness, itself without quality or determination. His *Puruṣottamatā* is suggestive of this compassionate aspect or the worshipping aspect. The Sāṅkhya *Puruṣa* is the true self of the individual (*jīva*). It is never the universal One. There are as many *puruṣas* as there are *jīvas* according to the sāṅkhya.<sup>80</sup> But the philosophy of Jagannātha does not accept this pluralism (Bahveśvaravāda). The Supreme Lord is not the totality of the phenomenal selves. He transcends all of them although He is the sustainer of all of them. The *Brahmapurāṇa* describes the *Puruṣottama* as one whose principal characteristic is that he is conceivable only in terms of contradictory qualities or *dharma*s<sup>80a</sup>. According to Śaiva School of thought Jagannātha is pre-eminently Śiva, the Determinate form of creative principle.\* Bhairav is black in colour due to the infusion of *Śṛṅgi mala* or the effusion of creation. This aspect of Jagannātha is proved by His possessing for his *Vāhana* (mount) a dog which is to be found in a minor temple known as Ananta Sayana adjoining the Mukti Mandap to its south. Subhadrā is the potency of the creation of Jagannātha, she is the Determinate form of the Indeterminate *Vimalā* which means a Goddess free from all sorts of *Maṣas* (or effusion) of creation. Baḷabhadra is mythically called the incarnation of *śeṣa* or Ananta Nāga which is the rudimentary element present at the beginning of the creation as is generally shown in God's Ananta Sayana Posture. So briefly it can be stated that Śaivite conception of creation has been epitomized in the Jagannātha cult.

*Philosophy of Jagannātha reviewed in the light of Upaniṣadic mysticism*

There is another angle from which the thing may be judged. As religion in India has a philosophical foundation this philosophy again is based upon a transcendental principle of mysticism. Unfortunately this last point which is the most basical to the rest has been over-looked not only by ordinary people but also by renowned scholars and philosophers. The mystical basis of Upaniṣadic philosophy and religion lies in 'Prajñā'. The meaning of *Prajñā* is not accessible to logical understanding. It is grasped only in meditation or yogic practices. How Reality is one, that is *Brāhmaṇ* or self, and how the individual-selves and the phenomenal universe are one with this *Brāhmaṇ* cannot be grasped fully by logic. It is a matter of deeper spiritual experience. *Śravaṇa* and *Manana* are to culminate in *nididhyāsana* and this *nididhyāsana* is the gate or the entrance to the otherwise inaccessible truth. *Nididhyāsana* leads to that mystical experience in which the philosophy of *Brāhmaṇ* and *Ātman* culminates in the philosophy of *Prajñā*. When Naciketā asked Yama to unfold to him the nature of the self and

\* View advocated by Pandit Maheswara Das of the Calcutta University in the Dept. of M.I.L.



immortality, the reply which Yama gave was that the self or immortality was *Om*. This is again described as *aṅguṣṭhamātrā puruṣa* in the subsequent chapters of the 'Kāṭhapaniṣad'<sup>81</sup>. The *Māṇḍukya* which attempts a correlation of the various depths of experience with the various aspects of reality, begins with an analysis of 'Om', and concludes with the fuller presentation of the significance of 'Om'.<sup>82</sup> But unfortunately this part of the Upaniṣadic doctrine is left out by the ordinary searchers on the ground of its mystic nature. But truth is mystery and the mystery is the truth, and the *tattva* which underlies all *dharma*s is hidden in the inner depths of consciousness (*dharmasyatattvaṁ nihitaṁ guhāyaṁ*)<sup>83</sup>. But some blame should go to our spiritual guides also because they wanted to screen off the sublime truth from ordinary enquirers and catered to them only the themes and anecdotes which could interest men of limited capacity. So philosophy came to be interpreted in terms of popular stories with fancied characters which are not historical figures at all but were intended originally to be only symbolical. But the people took the symbols or only symbolical characters in a non-symbolic way with the result that there has always remained a yawning gulf between popular religion and true religion. The relation between spiritual experience or philosophical mysticism and the elaborate philosophical systems can also be viewed in the same way. It seems that there have been three stages in the evolution of Indian spiritual thought. The original mystical experience and direct apprehension of Truth through realisation—the first stage; an indirect representation of that truth in philosophical thoughts and themes—the second stage; a graphic and picturesque representation of that philosophical truth again in Paurāṇic anecdotes and stories—the third stage. At the fourth stage, if it is to be called a stage at all, we have our popular beliefs in religion, morality and social laws. For a thorough understanding it is necessary to review all the stages together. This principle of interpretation if applied to the cult of Jagannātha can throw a new light on the universality of the cult. And this is substantiated by evidence, and is not a mere guess work. Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā as paurāṇic personages have one kind of appeal to the popular mind. But while the forms of Balarāma and Jagannātha become easily intelligible the relevancy of the form of Subhadrā in the trinity remains an element of mystery. In the Purāṇas Subhadrā does not occupy a place of such importance that she should be associated with the worship of the other two forms Balarāma and Jagannātha. In the Purāṇas Subhadrā is a sister of Kṛṣṇa and wife of the third Pāṇḍava Arjuna, and the best and the noblest in her became manifest in the house of the Pāṇḍavas and not in the house of her father or brothers. It may be that the three forms came to be known as Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā under the religious teachings of the Vaiṣṇavas, and the female form was taken as Subhadrā, because the other two forms were to be identified as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. Varāhamihira in the 6th century A.D. however prescribes *Ekānāmī* to be worshipped along with Balarāma



and Kṛṣṇa. She should be installed in between them. This Ekānāmśā was later on named as Subhadrā<sup>64</sup>. In the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa there is a passage which throws flood of light on the presence of Subhadrā in between Bālabhadra and Jagannātha. Subhadrā once appealed to Kṛṣṇa to be worshipped along with him in later years as she saved his life from the mighty hands of Kāṁsa.

Before Varāha-Mihira the worship of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was prevalent in India. In the Nānāghāṭa cave inscription of Naganika there is mention of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva with other deities. This inscription of the 2nd or 1st century B.C. shows that the Bhāgavata religion has spread to the south.<sup>65</sup> Professor Bhandarkar in his "Archæological remains and excavation at Nagari, pp. 130-133" suggested that Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa were worshipped together. This was incised in the Ghosunḍi stone inscription of the 2nd century A.D. The Besnagar pillar inscription also supports the identification of Vāsudeva with Kṛṣṇa (Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa by P. Mukherjee, p. 4).

The formless form standing by the side of the form of Jagannātha came to be described as Sudarśana on account of similar reason. There are some again who explain these images with reference to the Caturvyūhas : Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha<sup>66</sup>. It is not known if the cult of Sitā Rāma ever interpreted these forms naming one as Rāma, the other one as Lakṣmaṇa and the third one as Sitā. But the facts are like this, the forms were there, and they were objects of worship, and each religious sect came to give different names to those forms suiting the exigencies of their inclination. Subhadrā is not, however, worshipped as Subhadrā alone but as Mahāśakti, Yogamāyā, Viṣṇumāyā. She is also called Kātyāyanī and Bhuvaneśvarī which are names of Durgā.<sup>67</sup> It seems probable that these different religious preachers arrived and prescribed these different modes of worship and ultimately some form of synthesis has resulted giving rise to the existent religious traditions and practices in the temple of Jagannātha. The cult of Jagannātha has attained universality on account of the integration of all the manifold and varied modes of worship. Again in the worship of the Lord there is no distinction of caste and creed and all the castes and communities have a distinctive role in the worship that is performed. But this is only one aspect, the religious aspect of the deities or the worshipable aspect. Behind this there is a mysterious aspect also. Mr. Peterson recounts that after the bathing festival of the forms when all the outer colouring, ornamentations and dresses are removed, the images appear in their original symbolical forms<sup>68</sup> (Plate No. 61). And what is the basic symbol there? This symbol is the *Pranava*. When dilating on the Ātmatattva, Brahmatatva and Pranava Tatva, the ancient Upaniṣads declare that each has got four "Mātrās" or "Pādas", the first three mātrās or pādas are specifically described and the fourth one which is



unspecific is referred to as the transcendent (*turiya*). In respect of Ātman these four are *Jāgrat*, *Śvapna*, *Suṣupti* and *Turiya*. In respect of Brāhmaṇ, these four are *Vaiṣvānara*, *Taijasa*, *Prāñā* and *Sānta*<sup>89</sup>. In the context of Praṇava these four are the four *mātrās*—*A*, *U*, *M* and *Jyoti*. These four are not to be understood separately or in distinction.

The first three are represented in inter connected form, but the fourth one is absolutely formless. The second one is "Madhyamā" the connecting link between the first and the third and the form of Subhadrā is symbolical of that. In the statement given by Peterson, Subhadrā stands for symbolic connection merely, the connecting link between the first and the third, and he says that it is for that reason that Subhadrā has no hands. The form called Sudarśana becomes extremely significant in this context. This Sudarśana is shown on the left hand side (extreme side) of Lord Jagannātha. So this formless form is the symbol of *Turiya*, of *Jyoti* and of *Sānta*.<sup>90</sup> The *Sānta* or the tranquil, says the Upaniṣada is motionless in the intimate expanse of *Ākāśa* like a tree, *Stabdhaiva divi tiṣṭhatyeka*.<sup>90</sup> Who can say that Sudarśana which has the form of a long rod or club does not symbolise that tree which is the tranquil or the motionless one in the eternal sky, behind and beyond the manifest universe, passing through phases of birth, maturation and decay? Who can say that it is not the symbol of *Ānanda* or Bliss into which all ultimately enter, from which all spring, and by which all are sustained? The name Sudarśana is given to this by the Vaiṣṇavas. Again Sudarśana is a wheel, and the wheel is further taken as the *Jyotirūpa* of the Lord described in the *Gāyatrī Mantra* as the "*Bhargo deva*". The name *Ḍarubrahma* became significant in the context of this interpretation. *Ḍāru* or wood becomes a means of symbolisation of Brāhmaṇ. *Ātmān* and "*Oṃ*" in all its four *mātrās* or *pādas* (*Pādaśca mātrāḥ mātrāśca pādaḥ*).<sup>91</sup>

*Praṇava* is called Śabda Brahma because it is at the root of the world of sounds. "*Tasyavacakapraṇavaḥ*" says the Yoga system, "*Oṃ ityetaḍ akṣaramidaṁ sarvaṁ* or *Sarvaṁ Oṃkara eva*" says the Māṇḍukya—"Sarvaṁ hi etaḍ Brahma. Aya-mātmā Brahma," the Māṇḍukya<sup>92</sup> continues, "*Oṃ-iti dhyayatva Ātmānaṁ*", says the Cāṇḍyogya.<sup>93</sup> So Brāhmaṇ, Ātmān and Oṃ and if we like, *Parāvāk*, these four are to be correlated. Strangely each has got four *mātrās* or *pādas*. As far as "Vāk" is concerned the *pādas* are *Parā*, *Pasyāntī*, *Madhyamā*, and *Vaikhārī*.<sup>94</sup> From this context Balabhadra may be *Vaikhārī*, Subhadrā the connecting link may be *Madhyamā* and Jagannātha the lotus-eyed may be *Pasyāntī* and Sudarśana the *Parāvāk*. According to the Pāñcarātra School, these may be interpreted as *Virāt*, *Sutrātmā*, *Antaryāmi* and *Śuddha*.<sup>95</sup> There is perfect correspondence between these four and other forms like *Vaiṣvānara*, *Taijasa*, *Prāñā* and *Sānta* or *Viśva*,

*Taijasa, Prajñā, Turīya* advocated by the same Pāñcarātra school.<sup>96</sup> So there seems to be a definite reason to believe that Jagannātha in all the four forms taken together is not only the universal deity, worshipped by all the castes of the Hindus but that it is the most ancient divinity, the one and the only Lord worshipable, the one and the only truth realisable, the one and the only end attainable namely the *Brahman*, the *Ānandam* and the *Parama Jyoti* as sighted in the deep spiritual experience by the seers of the Upaniṣads. And *Jagannātha* is *Jagannātha* not because He is the Lord of the Universe, but because He is the Universe and the source of the Universe and more particularly because He is all and everything. His total aspect is revealed in the four forms taken together and when these are taken together we not only have a comprehensive view of things, a comprehensive view of reality but we have comprehension itself. If comprehensive view is philosophy then the Philosophy of Jagannātha is not a type of philosophical doctrine, but philosophy itself.

## REFERENCES

1. The History of Medieval Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa by Pravat Mukherjee, pp. 2 and 21.
2. "Cult of Jagannātha"—H. K. Mahtab, p. 511.
3. Reference has already been given in Chapter I.
4. History of Orissa, "Cult of Jagannātha", p. 510.
5. Ibid, pp. 510-511 and p. 525.
6. The History of Medieval Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa, Ch. IX, pp. 123-142.
7. Reference has already been given in Ch. I.
8. The description of Sītā in the *Vilāṅkā Rāmāyaṇa* is almost exactly like that of Kurukula image of Tāntric Buddhism, the presiding deity of Uddiyāna (Orissa), found in the *Sādhana Mālā*, Part II, pp. 344-45.
9. Bengal Past and Present, Vol. LXVIII, 1949, pp. 31-36. For reference to Jagannātha in Hindi Literature, See J.O.H.R.S., Vol. I, No. I, pp. 41-47.
10. *Sārasvata Gītā*, Ch. I.  
Mahāśūṅyaku ye Brahmaboli Kahi
11. Siddhānta Dambaru, Vide, N. N. Vasu, Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj, p. CXXXIII.  
Om Śūnyabrahmaṇe namaḥ.
12. Madhyanta Vibhāga-ṭīkā, Levi's Edition, p. 10.  
Abhūta Parikalpoasti dvayamtatra navidyate  
Śūnyatā vidyate tatra tasyamapi sa vidyate.
13. Śūnya Saṁhitā, Ch. VII.  
Bhālā pacārīlu gupata sandhi,  
Śūnya puruṣa śūṇyapure vandi  
Śūnya puruṣa udasare rahe,  
Śūnya puruṣa savu māya vyāye.



Śūnya puruṣa dayaḥ atai,  
 Śūnya puruṣa sarva ghaṭe rahi.  
 Śūnya puruṣa kare naṭa ghaṭa,  
 Śūnya puruṣa jāṇe chaṇḍa kūṭa.

14. Virāṭa Gītā, Ch. I.

Yāhā rūpa rekha nāhi  
 Śūnya puruṣa śūnya dehi.  
 Yāhā śūnya ate dehi,  
 Āvara namathiva kāhin ?

15. Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa, Ch. III, Verse, 12-14.

Agocāra puruṣa se nāhi rūpa varṇa,  
 Thaya thiti nahi tāra atai mahāśūnya.  
 Rūpavanta nubai se arūpa tāra dehi,  
 Śūnya saṅgate se śūnya hoithai.  
 Dehavanta hoike ta kariva rūpa veda,  
 Yāhā mahimā vakhaṇi napāraiveda.

16. Nirguṇa Mahātmya, Ch. II.

Jīvara mokṣakalpasāra, Anādi pravu nirākāra  
 Bhagata janañkaviśvasa, sakaḷa vūte tāra vāsa.  
 Jagata maṅgaḷa Īśvara, Tāra mahimā agocara  
 Sādhujanāñkabitakare, Śūnyare thuja rūpadhare.

17. Jñāna Siddhi, p. 84, the translation of the passage is taken from Dr. S. B. Dasgupta, Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism, p. 88.

18. Vide Jñāna Siddhi, p. 84.

19. For the description of Nirākāra Viṣṇu along with five other Viṣṇus vide Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa, Ch. III ; See also N. N. Basu, Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj, pp. CLXXXVII. Mr. Artaballabha Mohanty in his preface to Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa (Prācī edition) strongly criticises Mr. N. N. Basu for his identification of the five Viṣṇu with the five Dhyāni Buddhas. Mr. Mohanty, however, seems to be quite ignorant of the theological position of the Tāntric Buddhists.

20. Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa, Ch. III.

Avarṇa aṅgaru tāra varṇa prakāśilā,  
 Śveta pīta kuṅkuma lohita cārikalā.  
 Jāladhare nirjharaka yemanta chaḍavarṇa,  
 Ye chaḍavarṇaru chaḍa Viṣṇu hele janma.

21. For the description of these Devas and their accessories, see the discussion Yoga, infra.

22. There are four schools of this system of Buddhism :

1. Svabhārika, 2. Aīśvarika, 3. Karmika and 4. Yāntrika.

23. Prem Bhakti Brahma Gītā (Praci edition), Ch. I, verse 100.

24. See Śivacandra Vidyarnava Bhattacharya, Tantratattva, Part I, the chapter on Śaktitattva, pp. 225 ff.

25. Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā, Ch. I.

Urmadhūrma Se jyotijvalā.  
 Vindu Sahite pañcakaḷā.  
 Uchuḍi paḍante ye pañca  
 Saliḷa jāle paḍisañca.

Jaḷe paḍante pañcavūta  
Tatkṣaṇe yoga māyā jāta.

26. Ibid.

Sekaḷa rūpa nidragata, jaḷaru hoilā samvūta,  
Sejaḷa napārillā rahi, urmire taḷātaḷa hoi.

27. Ibid.

Devī voile tāhājāṇi tu vajrakilā hua puṇi

\* \* \*

Tu ādi mātā śakti hebu, mote tu liṅga se karivu.  
Ye aṅga vedi muhin thivi, sakaḷa sruṣṭi mun karivi.

28. In Chapter III of *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā*. Ādimātā is represented as the universal space extending in ten directions.

29. Ibid.

Vaḷe mun hevi vaḷiāra, virāṭa nāma heva mora  
Mo anta napāive kehi, Ananta nāma hevi muhin.  
Āvara Baḷabhadra śeṣha, Monāma hoiva viṣeṣa.

30. Ibid, Ch. II.

Sehiṣe puruṣa kṣarile,  
Ma akṣara volaile

\* \* \*

Se rasun sa akṣara helā,  
Rādhikā nāma volāilā

\* \* \*

Yemisi Rādhākṣṇathiti,  
Jīva paramahin volanti.

31. Ibid, Ch. III, 31. Ibid, Ch. III.

Se Rādhā Kṛṣṇa premarasuṇa,  
Se prema rūpa Garvasuṇ.

Tahun tripurā helā janma,

Se ādi triguṇa tā nāma,

Tini purare yeka dehi.

Yeṇu Tripurā nāma hoi.

Se dasa vujare samvūta,

Se ādi Durgā ādimāta.

32. Ibid, Ch. IV.

33. Ibid, *Vedāntasāra Gupta Gītā*, Ch. XXI mentions Nitya and Pramadā, instead of Lilavati and Priyavati.

34. Hevajra-tantra ; MSS. pp. 55B-56B.

Indra Gauri Yame Sauri vetali varuṇediśi  
Kauverighasmaricaiva adho vucari smṛtaḥ.  
Urdho khecarī prokta utpanti krama praksātaḥ.

35. Śūnya Saṁhitā, Ch. IX.

Āge Rādhā pache muhin lampata vāvare,  
Yekavija veniphāḷa yugaḷa aṅgare.



36. Ibid.  
 Nirākāra maṇḍaḷa se goloka rāhāsa,  
 Nirākāra vajana sethāku tāra āśa.  
 Nirākāra vajithila se vūmiki paśi.
37. Ibid.  
 Dayākale vṛdha mātā nirākāra mantra,  
 Dvātrīṃśa akṣara upadeśa dele tattva.
38. Prema Bhakti Br. Gitā, Ch. I.  
 The same thing is also expressed in Ch. III of the text.  
 Yāhaku aṇākāra kahi, Se Vindu Brahma achi bahi  
 \* \* \*  
 Se vindu yoga māyā pare, Rahilā ardha mātṛā śire.  
 \* \* \*  
 Tahun janmilā yekākṣara, Ananta sarpara ākāra,  
 Tāhaku sushumunā kahi, Se śiśuveda ghara sehi.  
 Avavi maṇḍaḷa akṣara, Se mīsa thāpanā Oṃkāra.
39. Ibid, Ch. IV.  
 Śrīrādhā Kṛṣṇa Candrāvalī.  
 Yenītya tini rūpe keli.  
 \* \* \*  
 Kṛīm Ślīm ku gheni hṛīm
40. Vide Prema Bhakti Brahma Gitā, Ch. IV.
41. Ibid, Ch. V.  
 Haa akṣara vadrasākhā, Gupatarūpe Se Rādhikā.  
 Re akṣara Bāḷadeva, Revatipati anuvava.  
 Kuru akṣara Kṛṣṇa dehi, Śrī Jagannātha yāhā kahi  
 Śṇaa Se Sudarśana Puṇa, yemante caturdhā pramāṇa.
42. Śūnya Saṁhitā, Ch. VII.  
 Nirākāra rūpa arūpa deha  
 Caturdhā rūpe vije Nirākāra.
43. Ibid.  
 Tohara mohara śūnya kāyaṭi,  
 Jagata śūnya rūpare udeṭi.  
 Ye dehaku bavu parate na yā  
 Nirākāra vaji parate yā yā.
44. Vedāntasāra Gupta Gitā, Ch. VII.  
 Se Nīlagiri nitya sama  
 Teṇu Śrīkṛṣṇa nitya dhāma.  
 Se Nīlagiri nitya dui  
 Avinna aveda atai.  
 Jagannātha Caritāmṛta, Ch. XVIII.  
 Vehu Golokanītyasthaḷa  
 Schuṭi giri Nīlācala.

Kotie yuga yeve yai  
Sethira liḷā nasarai.

45. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tikā, p. 2.  
Yamaku uhāḍa mote se jnāna kahiva  
Acetana pindaku cetana kariva.  
Alekha Nirānjananku cinhiva kemante  
Ye dehaku gheni srami ra-hiva yemante.
46. Ibid, p. 3.  
Ghaṭa yoga svāmi mote kahiva vistari
47. Śiva Svarodaya, p. 4.  
Svādhistān muḷaru ankurodita hoi  
Vāstari hajāra nāḍi deha madhye rahi.  
But according to Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tikā there are altogether 60 thousand nerves :  
śāthie sahasra nādi prakṛti vikāra, p. 3.
48. See also Gupta Gītā, Ch. III, Virāṭa Gītā, Ch. VI.  
Venicaksunka madhye sthāna trikūṭa voli tāranāma.
49. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tikā, p. 6.  
Tathī upare putāre Brahma randhra dvāra  
Tilacopā prāya puta kapata sethāra.
50. Brahma Sāṅkuli  
Ujāni pavanakunei trikūṭa madhye bharatuhi.
51. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tikā, p. 6.  
Brahma kapāta phitai alekhaku dēkha.  
\* \* \*
- Teveṇi yamara trāsa nalāgiva tote.
52. Ibid. See also Gupta Gītā, Ch. V; Chatisa Gupta Gītā, Ch. IV, for ulta sadhana  
of the Nātha Cult, see *Gorakṣa Vijaya*, pp. 115, 116, 145 etc. Gorakṣabodha, Verse  
No. 38.
53. Gupta Gītā, Ch. IV.  
Tāluka Sandhire se yai,  
Padmakesara ye achai.
54. Chayālisa paṭaḷa, Paṭaḷa No. 21.  
Virāṭa Gītā, Ch. IV.
55. Jagannātha Caritāmṛta, Ch. XII.  
Vaḍa deuḷa se volai  
Sahasra daḷa padma sehi.  
Also Ibid.  
Cahan doḷāre Nīlācala  
Vije dāru Brahma sasra daḷāre.
56. Ibid.  
Nīlācala Parama Brahma,  
Rādhānka sange voga Kṛṣṇa.  
\* \* \*
- Rādhākṛṣṇa yeka śarīre  
Achanti supremavavare.



57. Gupta Gītā, Ch. III.  
Guruṣi Brahma Hari Hara  
Guruṣi Syāma Nirākāra.
58. Chayālīśa Paṭaḷa, Paṭaḷa, No. 30.  
Nirākāra rūpa śūnyare  
Prakāsa mānava hitare  
Śrīgururūpē avatāra  
Hoicha Se Kāliyugara.
59. The same spirit is also found in Rudra Yāmaḷa tantra, where it is declared.
60. Virāḷa Gītā, Ch. IV.  
See also, Śūnya Saṁhitā, Ch. III, Vedānta Sāra Gupta Gītā, Ch. I ; Chatisa Gupta Gītā, Ch. XXIV etc.  
Brahmāṇḍe yete vidhimata,  
Piṇḍare achanti-samasta.  
Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa yekamata  
Toḷge Kahidelitattva.
61. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tikā.  
Anādi thāru Rudra pāile upadeśa  
Teveṣi kaṭile puta kāla cakra pāsa.  
\* \* \*  
Teveṣi kāla cakrare nohivu tu bheda.
62. Two Vajrayāna works, p. 31.  
Prajāpatya Jagannāthaṁ Sarvajina-varārcitam.  
Sarva Buddha-mayāṁ siddhi-vyāpināṁ gaganopamam.  
Sarvadam-sarva satvoyaḥ sarvajña varavarārcinam.  
Bhaktiāham sarva bhāvena vaksye tat sādhanam param.
63. Ibid, p. 26.  
Paryupāsyo Jagannāthaḥ Guruḥ Sarvārtha Siddhidāḥ.
64. Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna, pp. 206-207 ; 208.  
See also Govinda Vijaya of Syāmadāsa  
Vangavāsi edition, p. 3.
65. Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna, pp. 214-215.
66. Sāraḷā Mahābhārata, Sabbā Parva.  
Saṁsār janaṅku tarivā nimante  
Baudha rūpare vije ācha Jagannāthe.
67. Dāru Brahma Gītā.  
ṣaṣṭhādivasa antareṇa,  
Pādāye pāṇi helā Kṣīna  
Baudha rūpa beva Jāṇi  
Pāda pāṇi chādile goṣāṇ.  
Deuḷa Toḷā :  
Thākure voila rājā hoiluki va-i  
Kāḷi yuge vasibun Baudha rūpa heci
68. Śūnya Saṁhitā.  
Baudha rūpe mahodadhi kūḷe  
Bhogaviḷasivu tu seteveḷe.

69. Ibid, Ch. X.  
For further references, see Śūnya Saṁhitā, Ch. IX, Ch. XIII and Ch. XXX.  
Voile Acyuta tumhe suṇa āmbha vānī  
Kālī yuge Baudha rūpe prakāśivu puṇī  
Kaliyuge Baudha rūpe nija rūpa gopya  
Suṇahe sakaḷa munijane dele śāpa.
70. Śaśī Senā, Ch. IX, verse 52.  
Srinīlagiri kaṇḍare Hari  
Baudharūpe chanti vije kari.
71. Jagannātha Caritāmyta.  
Śrī Jagannātha ṣoḷakaḷā  
Yethun kaḷā e Nandavaḷā.
72. Śūnya Saṁhitā, Ch. IX.  
Āmbha kaḷā puṇī yae Nadiā dvipare  
Caitanya rūpe prakasa hoibun ye thare.
73. Caitanya Bhāgavata, Ch. III.  
Although Śrī Caitanya is regarded by the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnation of Buddha, the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal represent him as the hater of the Buddhists. In *Caitanya Caritāmyta* it is written :—  
“He is a wretch who denies form to God ; touch not, behold not that slave of Death. The Buddhists are atheists for reciting the Vedas” (J. N. Sarkar's translation, II, p. 6).
- 73A. Śūnya Saṁhitā, Ch. III, pp. 24-25.
- 73B. Balarāma Das Gupta Gītā, Ch. XVII, p. 18. & Skanda, Utkal khanda, Ch. XXIX, Śloka 34, and Nīlādrimāhodaya, Ch. V, Page 51.
- 73C. Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā, Ch. V, p. 37.
- 74A. Kants—Critique of Pure reason—Transcendental dialectic.
- 74B. Kant's Critical Philosophy, Vol. II, pp. 115-116.
75. Origin and development of Sāṁkṣya system of thought—P. Chakravarty, p. 315.
- 76A. Spinoza—Ethics, God or nature as the cause of all things and God is identical with all particular manifestations or system of effects.
- 76B. The book of God—B. Spinoza, pp. 17-20.  
From Naturā Naturāns to Naturā Naturātā.
77. Sudarśana is Kāḷa Cakra (Ahirbudhna Saṁhitā, Ch. 33, śloka 8) and was created first. So it is brought first to the chariot and kept with Subhadrā, the Goddess Śakti.  
Tataḥcakramayam sarvam jagatsthāvaraṅgamam Sudarśana-syaiva Kāḷacakraṁmatam.
78. Bhagavat Gītā, Ch. XV, Śloka 18.
79. Origin and development of Sāṁkṣya system of thought—P. Chakravarty, p. 84.
80. Ibid, p. 315.
- 80A. Brahmaṇḍa :  
Asthūloananūrūpo asauvāviśvovāviśvaevaca  
Viruddha dharma rūpo-sau aiśvaryāt Puruṣottamaḥ  
and Utkala Khanda Skanda Puraṇa, Ch. VIII, Śloka 32.
81. Kathopaniṣad, II, 1. 12-13.
82. Ibid, II, 3. 17. Prapañcasūratantṛa, Ch. XIX.
83. Ibid, I., 2. 20.
84. Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Vol. II, Ch. I, Ślokas 39-44.



85. Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava tradition by R. P. Chanda, p. 163.
86. Brahma Purāṇa, Vangavāsi Edition, Ch. LIX, p. 280.
87. Brahma Purāṇa, Ch. LIII, Śloka 58.  
 Namaste Sarvage devī  
 Namaste Sarvasankhyade  
 Trāhi mām Padma patrākṣī  
 Kātyāyanī namastute.
88. F. D. Patterson (Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII, pp. 61-63 "*On Jagannātha*").
89. Māṇḍukyaupaniṣad, Śloka 1-2.  
 Omityetadakṣaramiḍam sarvaṁ  
 tasyopavyākhyānam  
 bhūtambhavadbhaviśyādite  
 Sarvaśaṅkāra eva sarvaṁ  
 hyetadbrahmohayamātmā  
 brahma soyamātmā catuṣpāt.
- 89A. Ibid.
90. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa III, Ch. 340, Śloka 43-44.  
 Mahānārāyaṇo Upaniṣad, Khaṇḍa IX, Śloka 4.
91. Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad, Sūtra V, Rg, No. 8.
92. Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad and Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad, Sūtra V Śloka I.
93. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Mantra 10.
94. Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad Śloka 1-8.
95. Viṣṇusahasranāma Stotram—Śaṅkarācārya, p. 371.
96. Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad, Śloka 1-2 and  
 Pāñcarātra āgama. Nārada Pāñcarātra, Ch. XXXIII—XXXV.

## APPENDIX I

### BHOGAS OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Bhogas or food offered to the God and consecrated and this becomes the prasāda or sacred livings.

We have already discussed elsewhere that the Lord Jagannātha has been conceived as an Emperor and the temple itself is His Imperial abode. The king who were ruling over the states of Orissa from long past were considering themselves as the servants of the Great Lord. The same paraphernalia as is found in a royal household, is also discernible in the temple of Jagannātha with much splendour and magnificence. The items of Bhogas that are offered daily to the deities are many and varied and they are offered with royal dignity and ceremonial purity.

(i) *Bhogas are of two kinds* :—Those that are cooked and prepared inside the temple kitchens are called Samkhuḍy. They are prepared out of rice, black gram and other vegetables :—

(ii) Those that are prepared outside the kitchen but inside the temple specified for the purpose are called *Nisamkhuḍi* Bhogas. These constitute Bhogas made out of flour, wheat, ghee, candy etc.

It is a remarkable feature that every day throughout the year fifty six varieties of dishes are prepared and offered to the deities. It has been pointed out by many a foreigner with awe and wonder that the divine kitchen of Lord Jagannātha is one of the biggest and splendid kitchen which can feed one lac of people at a time. There is a popular proverb that :

“Saḍa rasa vyañjan nānā yāti  
Chapana bhog lāge dinarāti.”

“Multifarious dishes of sixfold tastes  
fifty six Bhogas are offered day and night”).



It is further interesting to note that beside these usual fifty-xix varieties of dishes the royal deities also take an offering of 84 varieties of Bhogas on the Makar Saṅkrānti day (on the first-day transit of sun to capricorn in the zodiac such as 13th or 14th January). The following table categorically shows eighty-four varieties of dishes. It also includes all the ingredients in brief. The asterisk marks given below shows the salt variety and the rest are sweet variety.

<i>Name of the Bhogas</i>	<i>Ingredients</i>
1. Jagannātha Vallabha	... Sugar, wheat-flour, ghee, spices (i.e. cardamom, camphor)
2. Khajā	... Flour, ghee, sugar, - do -
3. Gajā	... Wheat, flour, ghee, sugar, - do -
4. Phenī	... Flour, sugar & ghee.
5. Phenī	... Powdered rice, sugar & Ghee.
*6. Luni Khurumā	... Wheat flour, ghee, ginger, æsaphoetida, cumin & salt.
7. Sweet Khurumā	... Wheat flour, ghee, sugar & spices.
*8. Baḍa poori	... Flour, ghee & salt.
9. Sāna Poori (smaller size)	... - do -
10. Kākātūā Jhilli (or Baḍa Jhilli)	... Black gram, ghee, powdered rice, sugar & spices.
*11. Baḍa Nāḍi	... Blackgram, ghee, powdered rice, salt & spices.
*12. Sāna Nāḍi (smaller size)	... - do -
13. Kākarā	... Flour, ghee, mollasses or sugar.
*14. Hansa Keli	... Blackgram, ghee, powdered rice, salt, ginger & other spices.
15. Candra Kānti	... Blackgram, ghee, ginger, æsaphoetida, salt & liquid mollasses.
16. Baḍā	... Blackgram, ghee, powdered rice (sparsely used), dried mixture of coconut & mollasses.
17. Baḍā (smaller size)	... - do -
18. Vasanta Ārisā	... Ghee, mollasses, wheat flour, powdered rice.
19. Pāga Ārisā	... Boiled mollasses, - do -
*20. Marica Ladu	... Ghee, wheat flour, mollasses & powdered black pepper.
21. Baḍi Khirisā	... Small nuts already prepared out of blackgram are added to a sweet soup of suji & mixed with milk, ghee & spices.
22. Kadambā	... To cooked rice, sugar & milk are added.

- \*23. Mendhā mundiā Khecidi... Rice, gram, ghee, ginger, æsaphoetida, salt & spices.  
(Betaking the shape of lamb's head)
24. Netrapoori or Tripoori ... A thin gum like liquid is prepared out of the bark of Garuḍa Govinda tree or out of glutinus secretion from the 'Ou' fruit. Powdered rice is carefully churned with it in a cauldron full of ghee.
25. Magaja Laḍu ... Ghee, wheat flour, sugar & spices.
26. Amālu ... Wheat flour, mollasses, ghee, pepper & cardamom.
27. Ḍālimba ... Ghee, wheat flour, mollasses & spices.
28. Ḍālimba (smaller size) ... - do -
29. Sara Bhajā (preparation fry) ... Paruḍi, sugar & spices.
30. Pārijātaka ... Ghee, wheat flour, sugar, sweet powdered cheese & spices.
31. Māndua ... Cheese, wheat flour, sugar & spices.
32. Vallabha Korā ... Cocoanut, mollasses & spices.
33. Gopāḷa Vallabha ... Mollasses, coated rice fried with ghee, cocoanut & spices.
34. Amṛta Rasāvaḷi ... Skimmed milk cream, sugar, spices, ghee, kaju, almond, raisin.
35. Suāri ... Skimmed milk-cream, sugar & spices.
36. Cadhei ladā or Jhadeimadā ... Mixed powder of all varieties of cakes or a different preparation of blackgram, wheat flour, ghee & sugar.
37. Baḍakānti ... Blackgram, ghee, ginger & spices with liquid mollasses.
38. Māṭha Puli ... Blackgram, ghee, salt, æsaphoetida, cocoanut piecemeals & spices.
39. Papudi (prepared outside) ... Dry milk-cream.
40. Nadiā Khudi ... Cocoanut chips.
41. Bundiā Khiri ... Rolam, sugar, ghee, dry globules made of pulse-meal.
42. Tākuā ... Wheat flour, mollasses, ghee & spices.
43. Paṇā (A drink) ... Milk, sugar, plantain & spices.
44. Mahādei Khecidi ... Rice, gram, ginger, ghee & æsaphoetida.
45. Mahana Bhoga ... Rolam, ghee, sugar & spices.



*46. Jenāmaṇi	... Blackgram, ghee, powdered rice & spices.
47. Suji gajā	... Rolam, ghee, sugar & spices.
*48. Bali-Bāmana Muga	... Fresh grams, spices, cocoanut & ghee.
*49. Suāra piṭha or poda piṭha	... Blackgram, wheat flour, ghee, ginger, spices, cocoanut crappings.
50. Mākhana	... Curd cream, sugar, spices.
*51. Khaḷi rooti	... Wheat flour, ghee, salt, ginger, Juani, aesa- phoetida.
52. Kānikā	... Rice, sugar, grams, cardamom, clove, raisin, caju, almond and spices.
53. Abhadā	... Cooked rice.
54. Dāli (Dal)	... Redgram, fried gram, blackgram, peas, ghee, sugar and spices.
*55. Tarakari (Curry) (Prepared free from spices.)	... of various menu i.e. Mahura, Sāga (of green leaves), Santulā (Manifold vegetables cooked), Raitā (profusely added with mustard or rye- paste), Vesara, Khatā etc.
56. Pāyasa	... Rice, sugar, milk and spices.
*57. Enduri	... Blackgram paste, ginger and aesa-phoetida.
*58. Adā pācana	... Ginger, mollasses and churned tamarind.
59. Khuā Mundā	... Khuā (a milk product), sugar, spices, aesa-pho- etida and salt.
*60. Khaira chuḷa	... Wheat flour, ghee, mollasses and spices.
*61. Laxmivilāsa	... Flour, ghee and spices.
*62. Gheea Bharna	... Blackgram, ghee.
63. Anna Rasāvali	... 1/2 K.g. cow ghee, 20 pieces papuri (a milk product), 1/2 K.g. Khuā, 1/2 K.g. Khirā (also a milk product), 100 pieces almond, 100 pieces raisin, 100 pieces kaju, 1/4 K.g. fine rice, 1/2 K.g. sugar, 25 pieces cardamom and cinnamon etc.

and others, such as (64) Naḍu ; (65) Naḍiā keli ; (66) \*Khaia cula ; (67) Moti Cula ; (68) Dhanu Saraṇā pithoi ; (69) Paṇasuā laḍu ; (70) Arakha phula ; (71) Sarakumpā ; (72) Kheimandā ; (73) Kādamba ; (74) Chenā Piṭhā ; (75) Srihastha-Korā ; (76) Rādhā Vallabhi ; (77) Enduri ; (78) Culiā Kupada ; (79) Gainthā pithā ; (80) Gheuti, (81) Kāna-Phooli ; (82) Mendha singhiā ; (83) Khanda Mandā ; and (84) Kānti.

Another interesting feature is revealed that the deities are offered Pakhāḷa or watered rice thrice a day. The pakhāḷa which is offered for his lunch (Dwipra-hara Dhūpa) is incensed with jasmine (malli flowers). After siesta in the evening

(Sandhyā Dhūpa) the deities are offered a different kind of Pakhāḷa mixed with curd, ginger cunion. For his dinner the deities are offered sweet watered rice mixed with ginger, Jeerā, ghee and sugar. (Badaṣṛṅgāra Dhūpa)

*Prohibited vegetables :*

Though the dishes are all strictly vegetarian, it also prohibits the following vegetables.

(1) Gourd, Lady's finger, potatoes, tomatoes, garlics, onion, popeya, Chachindra, Kalarā, Poi, Kalama Sag, Kobi, Bitter gourd, Snake gourd, Bottle gourd.

*Seasonal Bhogas (Besides the usual ones) :*

1. During Vaiśākha and Jyēṣṭha (Approximately it covers the middle of April, May and middle of June)—the deities are offered the following dishes besides the usual ones.

- (i) Dahi pakhāḷa (watered rice mixed with curd)
- (ii) Chenā Māṇḍua
- (iii) Sāga (a delicacy of green leaves)
- (iv) Biripithā (cakes prepared out of black gram)
- (v) On paṇā or Visuva Saṁkrānti day the gheuti (made of flour, curd, cheese & mollasses) is offered in the morning and a delicious drink in the evening.

2. During the month of Āṣāḍha (during car-vestival, June-July) the deities are offered a special drink called Adhara paṇā (Adhara means lips. As such, the drink sweetens the divine lips).

3. During the month of Śrāvaṇa (Jhulan Yātrā i.e. July-August) the deities are offered Amālu & Khiri.

4. During the month of Bhādrava (Janmāṣṭamī i.e. August-September) the deities are offered the same food as mentioned above.

5. During the month of Kārtika (October-November) the deities are offered Luṇiliā (salty parched paddy) early in the morning which is called Bāla Dhūpa.

6. During the month of Pauṣa (December-January) the deities are offered Pahili Bhoga, i.e. the first food offered rather early in the morning. It is a delicious khechidi preparation. The episode runs that as Laxmi, the divine consort moves to her father's house, Yasodā, the mother of Lord prepares herself this delicious khechidi to the utmost satisfaction of her son.



(ii) On Bakula Amāvasyā day the Gainthā cake, new mango blossoms, powdered rice fried with ghee and Nāḍi (mixed with ghee) are offered.

7. During the Makar Saṁkrānti day, in the month of Māgha (Approximately 13th or 14th January) the deities are offered Makara Cāuḷa (i.e. fresh uncooked rice, well moistened, mixed with milk, ginger, black pepper, candy, cocoanut, cheese, camphor, raisin, ripe banana etc.).

8. During the Doḷa Yātrā in the month of Phālguna (February-March) the deities are offered Caṇāgajā, Khandavari, Canaladi, (undeveloped mango fruits) (Āmbakasi) Dahanā cori, Ārisā, Kānti & Kākarā.

*Non-animal sacrifices* : According to the Tārā Rahasya, a medieval Tāntric treatise), Lord Jagannātha is conceived as Kālīkā or Durgā.

“Kaḷau Kaālī Kaḷau Kṛṣṇah

Kaḷau Gopāl Kālīkā

[In the Kālīyuga, Kālī & Kṛṣṇa (or Gopāl) are predominating deities and Gopāl (or Krishna) himself is Kālīkā.]

So, there has been a tradition of offering either vegetable or food sacrifices in two Saṁkrāntis i.e. Makara Saṁkrānti and Dakṣiṇayāna Saṁkrānti. The sacrifice constitutes *Enduri cake* of black gram mixed with ginger and asaphoetida or curd with candy or a mixed preparation of ginger soury sauce, cocoanut and sugar. But specifically on the Makar Saṁkrānti day eight sacrifices are made after the mid-day meals.

*Dhūpas (Divine meals) :*

*Morning* : For morning refreshment the deities are offered the following platters, Gopāla Vallabha, fried paddy, sugar coated cocoanut, nuts, butter, Khuā, mandā papudi, fruits like mango, banana, guava, cocoanut chips etc.

For morning meals which is called Rāja Dhūpa the deities are offered as following :

Kākatuājhilli, Kānti, Enduri, ginger tonic, fried green leaves, fry-rice, dal & curries.

*Fore-noon* : The deities are offered *Bhoga-Manḍapa-Dhūpa*. It includes rice, veritable curries & cakes.

*Mid-day &* They are offered Oriyā (made of rice, salt, ghee & orange juice)

*after-noon* : cooked rice, curries, cakes, sweet soup, Kākarā, Ārisā, Marica-Ladu, pomegranates, Baḍā, a drink prepared out of black pepper, banana etc.

*Evening :* The sandhyā dhūpa consists of cooked rice and watered rice ; Māṭha-puli ; Kanla puli ; Jenamaṇi ; Pārijātaka ; Māndua ; Rasāvali ; Suāri ; dal & other curries etc.

*Night :* The platters are called Badasinhāra Dhūpa or Sāyana Dhūpa. It consists of sweet watered rice ; banana, Baḍā ; plantain fry ; Bhoga Kshiri, a liquid made of rice milk, sugar & spices ; cadhei meda ; green cocoa-nuts & betels (sandal paste instead of lime & without tobacco).

*How are the Bhogas placed before the deities :*

All the dishes that are cooked and prepared inside the kitchen are not ordinarily brought to the presence of the deities. An age old convention is still observed with devotion and austerity with regards to the placement of the Bhogas before the deities. Those who carry it from the kitchen are the Suāras and Mahāsuāras. They are strong and clean bodied persons free from diseases. Their mouths are closely wrapped so that no spit or saliva or even the direct breath will contaminate it. They almost move in a line while the pilgrims or visitors are not allowed to touch them. They carry the Mahāprasāda on their shoulders with the help of yoke. The dried Mahāprasāda is carried in Sarā (round shaped earthen platter) by the Suāras in their unfolded palms.

On the eve of each Dhūpa, the Padhihari (or pratihari i.e. one of the temple attendants, specifically engaged in Dhūpa work) goes upto the kitchen and summons the suāra and Mahāsuāra in the following manner.

“Ye Suāras & Mahāsuāras ! (For this particular Dhūpa) Let the Amṛta Maṇohi Bhogas be brought to the presence of their holiness, the deities !”

After this announcement the suāras carry the dishes to the deities.

*Divinity in the Mahāprasāda :*

The Mahāprasāda is conceived as the Brahma itself. Throughout India it is widely acclaimed as a separate divine entity for the people even at distant places look upon this as the same lord, they worship it and swear by it even in hard disputes. The faith confirms it that the dishes are prepared by goddess Laxmī and deities take it from the Ratna Vēdi or the Divine Altar where the deities are seated. The dishes carry a spell by themselves as these are offered to the deities while the austere pandās go on reciting the holy mantras. There is an echo of the vedic ritualistic tradition which is being strictly observed by the priests.

The dried cooked rice which is widely known as the Nirmālya even assumes the same serenity and the pilgrims in India carry it along with them as a token of divine presence and sanctity. It is needless to point here in every household in



Orissa, this Nirmālya is preserved and the people never forget to partake of it before they take their principal food.

Thousands of widows young or old from different states including Orissa flock to Puri in the month of Kārtika (October-November) every year where they stay for a month in order to take the Mahāprasāda. This is, indeed, a unique feature.

These eighty-five types of delicacies really form the acme of the Hindu vegetarian cooking at the time of building and consecration of the temple. The list of Bhogas has a unique cultural value as it shows the gastronomical taste of the Hindus in vegetarian cooking. The main dishes have never been changed so that any one can find out the food, the then kings and great men ate in Orissa and in eastern India in the 12th century A.D. Sometimes number of new dishes are also added.

In the Ayain Akbari the full descriptive gazetteer composed in persian by Akabar's order there is a detailed account of Akabar's kitchen and in that account given a list of thirty types of dishes among other hundred which would be kept ready for Akabar in his kitchen. These thirty dishes are—ten pure vegetarian, ten of mixed vegetables and meat and ten only meat. This shows the highest achievement of Indo-persian cooking as developed by Indian muslims. In that list the Āyin Akabari gives the ingredient for each dish and the amount of each ingredient in preparing a report for number of people. In an article "the diet of the great moghuls published in Islamic culture, 1959 there is also mention of 100 dishes usually served in the court of Akabar.

The following extract is taken from the Jagannātha Kaifiyat \* (regarding the history of the Mahāprasāda.)

During the reign of Yayāti, the Brāhmins and monks were not preparing the Mahāprasāda. Once the Lord Jagannātha commanded the ruling king in his dream.

"Prepare rice and dishes according to the principles, Offer them to Me and invite all Brahmins and anchorites to dine."

As per the divine instruction, Yayāti Keśari did so. But despite his requests to the venerable sorts, the latter did not accept it as holy dishes. Then after the king prayed to God and himself observed fasting. Again he was advised in his dream. He further more prepared such delicious dishes and extended an appeal to all the monks and brahmins.

"Ye revered sirs, please accept these dishes.  
Lord Jagannātha has commanded me."

Hearing this, all unanimously replied, "If Jagannātha would so bid us, then only we shall accept these things."

Yadi Asmānāgnyāpayisyati Devah  
Tada Asmabhistad Bhoktavyamiti.

Satya yuge Indradyumnāya Sākṣāt śrī-mukhāt Agnyām datwā dwādasa-yātrā agnyāpayat. Tadasmākam Yadyāgnyadiyate tadā bhoktavyamiti.

During the Satya era, the God himself commanded the King Indradyumna to celebrate twelve festivals in twelve months. So, if the God, himself would so command us, we will accept this.

During such conversation, certain dumb brahmin arrived there who came for a visit to Jagannātha. Yonder pointing him, the entire gathering of brahmins and monks shouted.

"If this dumb brahmin would be able to speak after taking this so-called Mahāprasāda, then only we will accept it."

Accordingly, the dumb brahmin was made to sit near the Mahāprasāda and was requested to sing its glory after taking a morsel of it. Strangely enough, the brahmin spontaneously chanted out two verses in praise of the Mahāprasāda.

Are vidwanmanyānanadhigatavedārthanigamān  
Mayā bhukte hyanhe mama parijaneisced mamānujey  
Tasmin dehe nasinnabhavatu bhabanto bahughrūṇā.  
Na gangayāh peyam Saba-Tanu-Galat Nabya Kaṭitaṁ.

(O' self conceited erudites ! you are ignorant of the knowledge of the vedas and other scriptures. When I enjoy the Mahāprasāda, my kins are also enjoying. You should not bear any hatred towards them for the Mahāprasāda does not stale them. As the water of the Ganges is not polluted even though the rotten flesh of the corpse is borne aloft it.)

The dumb brahmin uttered thus and took the Mahāprasāda with pride and

\* This unpublished MSS. has been traced from Mackenzie's collection in 1819 preserved in Madras Oriental Museum and is being edited by the Author. This Jagannātha kaifiyat is otherwise known as "Udra deśa Rāja Vamśāvali".



profound faith. Consequently, all the brahmins and monks present there took Mahāprasāda ungrudgingly and wiped their hands on their head as a mark of devotion and satiety. Since then, the Bhogas offered to the deities are being accepted as the Mahāprasāda by all irrespective of caste and creed.

List of clothes kept for use of the idols taken on the 18th September, 1813\*.

Dassee Putnee	...	7
Manee Bundee	...	25
Putnee Khundooa	...	43
Sauree of silk	...	31
Silk Fotah	...	21
Numabobe	...	24
Khondooa (Numabobe)	...	34½
Saree	„	35
Fotah	„	31
Chonkaband Khondooa	...	3
- Do - Fotah	...	2
Mahoruttee Khondooa	...	14
Antguree Khondooa	...	6
Marhattee Saree	...	29
Antagurree Saree	...	12
Sarees of different countries	...	13
Marhattee Dhotee	...	30
Orissa Dhotee	...	3
Dhotee and Chaddurs of different countries	...	4
Kantch Dhooties of different counties	...	9
Silken Dhooties	...	3
Benaressy Dopata	...	20
- do - Sauree	...	1
Jurree Assawneea Arnee	...	12
Kuppurdhool of different kinds	...	29
Kuppurdhool of Pattooka	...	5
Silk Lenga	...	1
Jurree Seerpench	...	8

\* The spelling of cloths and ornaments is retained here in accordance with the list made by the British Government. This list is reproduced here by the kind permission of the Board of Revenue, Orissa Govt.

Chuddurs of different kinds	...	29
Remnants of cloths	...	24
Duknee Dhotee & Chudders	...	6 (cotton)
- do - Saree	...	10 -do-
Dacca Cloth (cotton)	...	1
Pugrees of different kinds (cotton)	...	23
Daputtas of different kinds (cotton)	...	37
Dhotee (cotton)	...	19
Saree -do-	...	7
Fotah -do-	...	4
Wotteree -do-	...	10
Coba buggee chool phoota		
Head cloth (cotton)	...	2
Sree Kupra coarse cloth	...	24
Kantch Dhottee of different kinds	...	20
Remnants	...	5
Pulung Posh	...	15
Koosnarjun chal Deer skin	...	1

Another enclosure from Collector, Cuttack's letter  
13th December, 1813, p. 210, Vol. II.

*Jewels belonging to the Deity (Gold)*

Khund (Sword)	...	1
Dhal (Shield)	...	1
Kuttar	...	1
Dhannoo (Bow)	...	1
Khurroo ornament for the wrist	...	2
Nappoor ornament for the feet	...	2
Jutt ornament for the hair	...	1
Goojur khunoo ornament for the wrist	...	2
Lobe ornament for the ear	...	4
Rings	...	5
Jubba hurrera tassels	...	8
Joopee ornaments for the forehead	...	2
Puddom Mallee Necklace	...	3
Gool Kunttee Mallee Necklace	...	7



Checha Kunttee Malee Necklace	...	2
Habooree Mallee Necklace	...	2
Mirga Malee Necklace	...	1
Mohun Malee Necklace	...	3
Sursoo Kunttee Malee Necklace	...	1
Paun Pattree Kunttee Necklace	...	1
Goongroo Malee Necklace	...	2
Khhud bartee—silver quiver	...	1

The above list shows that the dresses and ornaments were endowed to the deities by people from different countries.

## APPENDIX II

### THE IMPACT OF THE CULT OF JAGANNĀTHA ON THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ORISSA

As the nerve centre of the human body influences every physical part of it, so also the institution of Jagannātha influences every sphere of life in Orissa, political, cultural, social, religious and economic.

A religion and its deity are the products of the spiritual and mental uplift of the people and consequently, the nature of the deity and religion determines the nature of the people by whom they are conceived. The truth is applicable to the concept of Jagannātha. He is conceived as a deity of all impressive nature in whom all the sectarian religions are merged and cosmopolitanism in the concept of the deity has led to the cosmopolitanism in the manners and behaviour of the people of Orissa towards others. All sects of religious views prevalent throughout India with their different nature, different tendencies and different angles of vision are all merged in the cult of Jagannātha.

The various Avatāras (incarnations) appearing in the field of social and religious institutions professing different sectarian worship throughout India are said to be partial manifestations or incarnations of Lord Jagannātha and He is the sumtotal of these incarnations. So, Acyutānanda Dās, one of the *Pañca Sakhās* and a poet Philosopher of Orissa, has rightly said,

Avatāra daśa ehi dāru rūpa ehi dārure se lina  
Iśwara sāksāte liḷāra nimante bije ratna—

—Sinhāsana (1)

This indicates the cosmopolitanism of the cult of Jagannātha in which, according to the belief of a Hindu, lies the fullness of the practical spiritual life. So, it is generally believed that the visit to other sacred places may serve some partial aspects of spiritual life, but a visit to Jagannātha at Puri after the visit of other sacred places in India leads to the final salvation which is indicated in the Rg mantra :

Ado yaddāru plavate sindhoḥ pāre apuruṣam  
Tadā rabhasva durhoṇo tena gacha parastaram (2)



Śayanacarya, the famous commentator of the 13th century, has rightly interpreted the mantra with special reference to Puruṣottama Jagannātha and affirmed that he is the final goal to salvation. This religious aspect of the Jagannātha cult has exerted an influence over the social and religious life of the people of Orissa in general, among whom brotherly tie is established on the basis of the final realisation of life.

As regards, bhoga in the paraphernalia of worship of Lord Jagannātha, we find the same truth that this cult has assimilated all sorts and modes of worship prevailing in this great country.

Let us take the example of Mahāprasāda, the like of which is nowhere found in India. Food is the first and greatest of all necessities of human life and existence. That food is not only offered to the deity but is also meant for all the people, who whatever their position may be, can satisfy their hunger with ease and comfort. Food is always ready in the temple showing us as if the Lord of the Universe sits there on the *Ratnavedi* holding out His hands for giving food to His hungry and devoted beings. All the seasonal foods offered to the deity are made available to the public. This arrangement has been based on humanitarian consideration which is the main purpose of worship in the temple. On the whole, through this arrangement an attempt has been made to realise human life in its true aspect as stated in the Upaniṣada :—

Yasya sarbāṇi bhūtāni ātmaibabhutavijanatā

Tasya ko mohah ko śokaḥ ..... ..ekatvamanupasyataḥ (3)

It means that he, who realises within himself all the emotions as his own self, faces no trouble, whatsoever. In the social life of some parts of India in general and Orissa in particular, whatever is done in the shape of welfare of the family of the individual is attributed to Lord Jagannātha.

In the marriage and other religious ceremonies, the house-hold people think it as their duty to satisfy their guests with *Mahāprasāda* of Jagannātha before serving them with other kinds of food. This reminds us the couplet of the Gītā.

Yat karosi Yadaśnaṣi Yajjuhosi dadasi yat

Yatbā Pasyasi kaunteya tatkuruvṣa madarpanam (4)

This process has helped our people in establishing brotherly relationship in their social life. Before entering into any social relation such as marriage, the parties come together to take oath before Lord Jagannātha to make their relation firm and permanent. The priest of Jagannātha and their agents known as Paṇḍās move about the whole country to collect pilgrims for the visit of Jagannātha and



this has brought the whole of Orissa in close contact with other parts of India and thus, the tie of fraternity has been fostered through the movements of Paṇḍās throughout the country. The Oriya language has, to some extent, been known to the people of other parts of India and vice versa, through this process. On account of this language—study on the part of the Paṇḍās, Puri has attained a Pan-Indian status in comparison with other sacred places of India.

Cases involving religious controversies in any part of India particularly Orissa, are referred to the *Muktimanḍapa* which stands as the judiciary of the temple<sup>5</sup>. This *Muktimanḍapa* is the famous seat of the learned men associated with Jagannātha temple and the verdict pronounced by this august assembly of Paṇḍits, is accepted by the contending parties with great respect.

As has been said before that in the days of yore when Orissan kings held sovereignty over the country they had to seek the favour of Lord Jagannātha for their success in administration or participation in war. Lord Jagannātha is deemed to be the supreme monarch of the country and the Rājā of Orissa is regarded as His representative. Even the *Yātrās* held in honour of Jagannātha have great influence on the religious and cultural life of the people of Orissa. Take for instance the *Śayana Yātrā* in the temple of Lord Jagannātha, when the Lord goes to sleep. During the period of this *Śayana Yātrā* lasting for 3 months all ceremonies such as marriage, Upanayana (sacred thread ceremony), the coming of the bride to her father-in law's place, (*Nava-Vadhū Yātrā*) etc. are all suspended and during the rising ceremony of the Lord (*Devotthāna*), all these activities are resumed. During the *Ratha Yātrā* festival of the Lord, all kinds of trees are planted in various parts of Orissa, because these days of the festival are considered to be the most auspicious. The first fruit of any crop grown in Orissa is presented or assigned to the Lord. Theatrical performances open with an invocation to Lord Jagannātha. In ancient Oriya literature most of the famous works begin with a prayer to the Lord(s). Even Muslim poets have sung the glory of Jagannātha in some of their invocatory verses. Poets like Salabega and Lede Haridas are regarded as devotees of Lord Jagannātha. Children are considered to be the gifts of the Lord and when they are born or saved from calamities, the parents go to the temple and offer lamps goes up the number of which sometimes, to one lakh.

Lord Jagannātha is not only the real king of Orissa but also He is the land-lord of all parts of India. There is no important region in India where the Lord has no land of his own. He is the only deity in India in whose favour donations of land have been made by the Rājās and Mahārājās and also by the common people. Apart from the actual donation of land, a kind of spiritual dedication of



life and property also is made to Him all over India. Men and women are named after Him, as Jagannātha Disa; villages and farmyards and market places bear his name e.g. Jagannāthpūr, Jagannāth Prāsād, Jagannāth Hāṭ etc. and cattle and trees are dedicated to Him. It is no exaggeration to say that Jagannātha is the biggest landlord in India. He is also the richest deity of the country. Donations in several forms besides land and money such as utensils, ornaments, dresses, furniture, horses, elephants etc. are made to Jagannātha by all classes of people.

Jagannātha is a frame of reference for any form of greatness throughout the country. He is the *Baḍa Thākur*, the Chief among the Gods. His temple is the *Baḍa Deula*, the chief temple among the temples and the path in front of His temple is the *Baḍa Daṇḍa*, the chief path-way. The sea washing the shores of His Kṣetra is called '*Mohodadhi*' or the great ocean. Even the cremation ground here is named as Svarga Dvāra or gateway to the Heaven. In worshipping Him all the deities are worshipped, and in visiting His seat or Kṣetra all pilgrimages are made. He is conceived as the king, the co-subject, the father, the brother and the son in one. All religious practices, social customs and cultural activities get their sanction by reference to what is followed in His temple and the deviations, if any, are also made with humble supplication of His sanction. The Lord of the Lords is the ideal of all ideals for the people.

Viewed from all points, Lord Jagannātha would appear to be the supreme authority in all matters—social, political, religious and cultural and Purī, the seat of Lord, is no doubt the nerve centre of Orissa and the greatest religious centre of India.

#### REFERENCES

1. Śūnya Saṁhitā, Chap. I.
2. R̥g Veda, 10th Maṇḍal, Sukta, 155.
3. Kaivalyopanīṣad.
4. Bhagavadgītā, 9th Chapter, 27 Śloka.
5. Koṭibrahmaṇḍasundarī Kāvya, Rahasyamañjarī Kāvya etc.

### APPENDIX III

#### JAGANNĀTHA IN INSCRIPTIONS AND LITERATURE

1. Inscriptions of the temple of Jagannātha
  - (i) During the reign of Choḍagaṅga, Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. III, Part I. (Nṛsiṅha mandir inscriptions), p. 131, no. 123.
  - (ii) During the reign of Anaṅgabhīmadeva, E.I., Vol XXX, p. 197. Pataleśvara temple inscription.
  - (iii) During the reign of Sūryavaṁśi kings (Kapileśvardev, Purusottamdev, Prataparudradev and others)  
Ref. the Evolution of Oriya language and script published by the Utkal University  
Pages—253, 257, 265, 272, 274, 278, 279, 283, 292, 300, 302, 314.  
J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIX (1900) ; P. & J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, (1893)
2. Inscriptions in other temples of Puri town
  - (i) Markandesvar temple inscriptions of Choḍagaṅgadev, Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. III, Part I, p. 134, no. 120.
3. Inscriptions referring to Śrī Purusottama Jagannātha from outside the Puri town
  - (i) Stone Inscriptions of Bhairavadev, Bihar Indian Antiquity January 1890, Vol. XIX, J.B.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 1225.
  - (ii) Nagari plates of Aniyāṅkabhīmadev II, E.I., Vol. XXVII, p. 235.
  - (iii) Gopinathapur Inscription of Kapileśwardev, J.A.S.B., Vol LXIX, Part I, p. 173.
4. Govindapur Stone Inscription of the poet Gangādhara, E.I., Vol. II, p. 330.
5. Kailān plate of Śrīdharaṇā Rāṭā of Sāmantaḷa  
I.H.Q., Vol. XXIII, Page 221.
6. Kalidindi grant, E.I., Vol. XXIX, Page 63-64 ; I.A., Vol. XIV.
7. Maihār grant, E.I., XXXV, p. 171.
8. Nagpur Stone Inscriptions of a king of Malwa, E.I. II, p. 180.
9. Pujaripali inscription of Nagvansi King Gopaldev—The Mahakosala Historical Society Paper, Vol. II, p. 68.





38. India Directory (p. 468)—Taylor.
39. (The) Indian Empire—W. W. Hunter.
40. Indian Temples—Odethe Rruhl.
41. Indian travels of the Vernot and careri (p. 94,262)—Ed. by Suendranath Sen.
42. (The) Jagannath or Pooree Pagoda, Vol. II, (p. CLXXVII).
43. Jakernot pagoda—Letter in Yulu diary of Hedges, Vol. I, (p. 30).
44. Konarak—Bishan Swarup.
45. (The) Mediæval Vaishnavism in Orissa—Prabhat Mukherjee.
46. Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa—N. N. Basu.
47. Mysticism in Jagannath temple.
48. Obscure Cults of Bengal—S. B. Chaudhury.
49. Orissa and her remains—Manamohan Ganguli.
50. Orissa in the making—B. C. Mazumdar.
51. Orissa, the garden of superstition and idolatry—W. F. B. Laurie.
52. Oxford history of India—V. A. Smith.
53. Puri—Chintamani Acharya.
54. Puri—L. N. Sahu.
55. (The) Religion of the world—Dr. Hopkins.
56. Saura—English dictionary—G. V. Rammurthy.
57. Sketches from Nipal, Vol. II, (p. 316)—A. A. Oldfield.
58. Temples of India—Edglay Norman.
59. The Suryavamsi Gajapatis of Orissa—R. Subramaniam.
60. The Cult of Jagannatha—Pt. N. K. Das.
61. Things Indian—William Crooke.
62. Thirty-eight years in India, from Jagannath to Himalayan mountains—W. Taylor.
63. Travels in Hindusthan from 1955-61—Francois Bernier.
64. Travels of Fahian—Lagge.
65. Tribes and castes of Central India—Russel.

#### *B—Sanskrit*

1. Abhinava Gītagovinda—Gajapati Purusottama Deva (unpublished).
2. Anargha Rāghava-Murāri.
3. Atharva veda.
4. Bhakti Baibhava Nāṭakam—Jibadevācharya (unpublished).
5. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.
6. Brahmaprakaśikā Tikā on Meghadūtam, by M. M. Narahari.
7. Brahma Purāṇa.
8. Brahma Yāmala.



9. Br̥hat Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
10. Chandrakalā Nāṭikā—Visvanatha Kavirāj.
11. Dvādaśa-Yātrā Tattva—Raghunandana.
12. Gaṅgāvaṁśinucharita Campū—Vāsudeva Ratha.
13. Garuḍa Purāṇa.
14. Gopālārcana Vidhi—Gajapati Purusottam Deva (unpublished).
15. Gundichā Champū—Vakravāk Chakrapāṇi Pattanāyak.
16. Gundichā Vijaya Champū—Kavirāj Bhagavan Brahmā (unpublished).
17. Jagannāth Ballava Nāṭakam—Rai Rāmānanda.
18. Jagannātha Kaifiata (Odradesarāgāvam sārālī)
19. Kāpila Saṁhitā.
20. Kṣetra Māhātmya.
21. Madhurāśniddha Nāṭakam—Cayani Candrasekara.
22. Martya Baikunṭha.
23. Maṭhāmnaya Upaniṣad.
24. Mukti Chintāmaṇi—Gajapati Purusottam Deva.
25. Mukunda Viṭāsa—Raghuttama Tīrtha (unpublished).
26. Naiṣadha Mahākāvya—Sriharsa, Canto 15, verse 9.
27. Narasiṁha Purāṇa.
28. Nilādri Mahodaya.
29. Nilādrinātha Śatakam—Kaviratna Purusottama Miśra (unpublished).
30. Nilādrinātha Śatakam—Nityananda.
31. Padma Purāṇa.
32. Prabodha Chandrodaya Nāṭakam.
33. Prapannamṛta—Ramanujacharya.
34. Puruṣottama Śatakam—Purusottama Miśra.
35. Purusottama Tattva—Raghunandan.
36. Rīgveda.
37. Rudra Yāmala.
38. Saubhāgya Mañjuṣā—Krishnananda Brahmachari.
39. Siddhānta Darpaṇa—M. Samant Chandra Shekhara.
40. Skanda Purāṇa.
41. Śrīkrṣṇalīlā Taraṅgiṇī—Narayana Tīrtha.
42. Tīrtha Chintāmaṇi—Vacaspati Miśra.
43. Vāyu Purāṇa.
44. Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
45. Viṣṇu Yāmala.
46. Yatrā-Bhagabatam—Bālunki Pāthi (unpublished).

## C—Oriya

1. Amarakoṣa Gītā—Balarama Das.
2. Aṇākāra Saṁhitā—Nanda Das.
3. Baṭa Abakāśa—Balarama Das.
4. Bhāratatīrtha Darśana—Madanmohan Pattanayak.
5. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.
6. Brahma Kuṇḍali—Baranga Das.
7. Chayāliśa Paṭaḷa—Achyutananda Das.
8. Chaturdhāmurti Varṇana—Krupasindhu Das.
9. Dārubrahma Gītā (unpublished).
10. Dārubrahma Gītā—Jagannatha Das.
11. Dārdhyata Bhakti—Rama Das.
12. Dāru Devatā—Benimadhaba Padhi.
13. Deuḷa Toḷā—Balarama Das.
14. Deuḷa Toḷā—Dama Das.
15. Deuḷa Toḷā—Nilambara Das.
16. Deuḷa Toḷā—Sisukrushṇa Das.
17. Bhagavad Geeta—Pt. Nilakantha Das.
18. Gopichandana—Chanda Das.
19. Gupta Gītā—Balarama Das.
20. Gurubhakti Gītā—Balarama Das.
21. Jagamohan Chānda—Deena Krushna Das.
22. Jagamohan Rāmāyaṇa—Balaram Das.
23. Jagannātha Abakāśa—Kesava Bhanja.
24. Jagannātha Bandanā—Krupasindhu Das (unpublished).
25. Jagannātha Bhajana—Bhagirathi Das.
26. Jagannātha Charitāmṛta—Divākara Das.
27. Jagannātha Chautiśā—Ratnakara Sarma.
28. Jagannātha Dharma-o-tattva—Suryanarayan Das.
29. Jagannātha Mandira—Suryanarayan Das.
30. Jagannātha Nāmamālā—Maguni Das (unpublished).
31. Jagannāthāṣṭaka—Gajendra Das.
32. Kaḷpalatā—Arjuna Das.
33. Khurudha Itihasa—Sir K. N. Mahapatra.
34. Koṭibrahmāṇḍasundari—Upendra Bhanja.
35. Kshetra Mahātmya—Upendra Bhanja.
36. Mādaḷāpāñji—Ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanti.
37. Mahabharata—Sarala Das.
38. Mayūracandrikā—Haridas.
39. Nāmaratna Gītā—Dinakrushna Das.



40. Nārada Purāṇa.
41. Navakalevara—A. Das.
42. Navakalevara Vyañjanā—S. Khuntia.
43. Netrotsava Varṇanā—Sisu Das.
44. Nīla Śaiḷa—Surendra Mahanti.
45. Nīlādri cautiśā—Upendra Bhanja.
46. Nīlādri mahotsava—Lokanatha Bidyadhar.
47. Nilagiri vihāra—Gopinatha Simha (unpublished).
48. Nīlasundara Gītā—Sekhara Das (unpublished).
49. Orissara Pratnatatva—Padmaśrī P. Acharya.
50. Oḍiśā itihāsa ke totī ajñāta adhyāya—Chakradhar Mahapatra.
51. Oḍiśā itihāsa—Harekrushna Mahatab. (1st Edition).
52. Oḍiśi Vaisnav a Dharma—Dr. K. C. Mishra.
53. Oḍiya Sahitya a Krama Parinama, Parts I & II—Pt. Nilakantha Das.
54. Oriya Sahitya Madhya Parva—S. Mohanty.
55. Prāchinagadyapadyādarśa—Ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanti.
56. Premabhaktibrahmagītā—Yasovanta Das.
57. Prāchina Utkala—Jagabandhu Simha.
58. Puruṣottama Māhātmya.
59. Purushottama Kshetra Tatva Māhātmya—Pt. K. Acharya.
60. Rahasya Mañjari—Devadurlabha Das.
61. Rāmabibhā—Arjuna Das.
62. Rasakallola—Dinakrushna Das.
63. Rasikahāravali—U. Bhanja.
64. Śaśiśeṇā—Pratapa Raya.
65. Sārasvata Gītā—Ratnakara Das.
66. Silpa Chandrika—Dr. K. B. Das.
67. Śrī Jagannātha Mandira—Sadasiva Kāvyaikantha.
68. Śrī Jagannatha O Navakalevara—Dr. K. C. Miśra.
69. Śūnya Saṁhitā—Achyutananda Das.
70. Uṣā Bhilāsa—Sisusankara Das.
71. Utkala Itihāsa—K. S. Mishra.
72. Vaidehiśa Vilasha—U. Bhanja.
73. Vedāntasāra gupta Gītā—Balarama Das.
74. Vidagdha Mādhavanāṭaka—(translation).
75. Virāṭa Gītā—Balarama Das.

*D—Bengali*

1. Āmāder Deśa Orissa—Subodhakumar Chakravarty.
2. Āmāra Jivana—Nabinchandra Sen.
3. Chaitanya Bhāgavata—Brindabana Das.
4. Chaitanya Charitāmṛta—Kṛṣṇnadas Kaviraj.
5. Govinda Disera Karchā—Govinda Dasa, ed. by Jayagopal Goswami.
6. Jagannātha—Jyotisachandra Biswas.
7. Jagannātha Mahātmya—J. Das Maheswari.
8. Jagannātha Mangala—Viswambhara Das.
9. Kānchi Kāveri—Rangalal Bandyopadhyaya.
10. Mahāprabhu Nilachala Lila—Haridas Goswami.
11. Mandirer Kathā—Gurudas Sarkar.
12. Nilachala—Chunilal Basu.
13. Puruṣottama Chandrika—B. C. Bandyopadhyaya.
14. Puruṣottama Mahatmya O Tirth Parikama—Brahmachari Santi Prakasa.
15. Śrī Jagannātha Mādhavadas—Swami Satyananda.
16. Śrī Jagannātha Mandira—M. M. Sadasiva Misra.
17. Śrī kṣetra—Sundarananda Vidya Vinoda.
18. Śūnya Purāṇa—Ramani Pandita.
19. Utkala Parva—Ramyani Viksha.
20. Utkala Tirtha—Siddhananda Saraswati.
21. Vīrbhum Vivaraṇa—H. K. Mukhopadhyaya.
22. Viśva Koṣa—N. N. Basu.

*E—Hindi*

1. Bisaldev Rāso—Narapati Nala.
2. Chitrāvali—Usman.
3. Gundichā Vije—Brajanath Badajena.
4. Jagannāth mahātmya—Sivanarayan Sarma.
5. Jagannāth Mahātmya Bhasha—Visvanath Tipathi.
6. Padumābat—Mallik Muhammad Jaise.
7. Tīrtha Darpana—Shivakishan Binani.

*F—Tamil*

1. Sri Jagannath Ksetra Kilakkam—K. S. Venkataraman.

*G—Telugu*

1. Utkal Sri Jagannatham—Narasimhamurti Bhallamudi.
2. Nilācala Mahatmyam—Tennets Seethomuti (unpublished).
3. Mukti Chintamani—Venkatadiya (unpublished).



#### APPENDIX IV

### EKĀNAMŚĀ AND SUBHADRĀ

The worship of Śakti or Devī was popular in ancient and medieval India. Ekānamśā was then considered to be a special form of Durgā or Śakti and her worship was also a regular practice in ancient times.<sup>1</sup> In the Mahābhārata, Ekānamśā was associated with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. In the Virāṭa Parva she has been identified with the daughter of Yaśodā who saved the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma from the mighty hands of Kaiśa. She was then called Yogamāyā or Yoganidrā and was said to be the sister of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>2</sup> During the Muhammedan ascendancy in India, Śāktism had a great sway over the people and so the worship of Ekānamśā was a regular phenomenon all over the country. The Mahābhārata also identifies this Goddess with Kuhu, the daughter of Aṅgīrasa.<sup>3</sup> The word Ekānamśā literally means a goddess who is one and not a part of any other—both Advaita and Akhaṇḍa at the same time.

As Ekānamśā and Subhadrā were described side by side as the sister of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma from the days of the Mahābhārata, both were treated as identical by the 8th century A.D. Curiously enough, the Utkalakhanda section of the Skanda Purāṇa attempts to identify Subhadrā with Lakṣmī. In one passage of the same, Subhadrā is described as the Śakti<sup>4</sup> of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in spite of her being a sister of the latter. Perhaps the identification of Ekānamśā with Subhadrā was made during the period of composition of the Skanda-Purāṇa. In the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa* it is said that the image of Ekānamśā should be placed in between Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa and that her left hand should rest on the waist and the right should carry a lotus.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Ekānamśā is identified with the Goddess Subhadrā.

A living example of the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Ekānamśā-Balarāma is found at Purī in the temple of Jagannātha. The central figure there is not named as Ekānamśā but as Subhadrā. The presence of three symbolic images (representing Balarāma-Subhadrā-Jagannātha of the holy triad) in the temple of Jagannātha at Purī has given rise to various speculations as to their original character. Some scholars see in these images an influence of the Buddhist doctrine of Tri-ratna and

others of the Vaiṣṇavite representations of Balarāma-Subhadrā-Kṛṣṇa. Mr. J. C. Ghosh has tried to show that this triad represents only the superimposition of Vaiṣṇavism over Śāktism<sup>6</sup>. Traces of Śāktism are also found in the two subsidiary shrines of Vimalā and Annapurnā in the temple-enclosure of Lord Jagannātha. Vimalā and Subhadrā represent, however, the two aspects of Durgā-Ekānāśā. When the Śākta deity became Vaiṣṇavised and was identified with Subhadrā, Śāktas started worshipping Vimalā in the temple compound<sup>7</sup>.

Although various interpretations are given to the image of Subhadrā being placed between Balarāma and Jagannātha, none of them is satisfactorily dealt with. The word *Subhadrā*<sup>8</sup> literally means a goddess who is amiable, blessed, auspicious, prosperous, good, gracious, friendly, kind and excellent and the benefactress of the world and the presence of such a goddess between Jagannātha and Balarāma provides the temple with an air of magnificence. The fact that Subhadrā has no hand is a sure sign to indicate that she has no separate existence of her own and she is a part of the whole. So she cannot be studied in isolation. She is the creative energy which governs the entire universe. She, because of her position in the middle, is a connecting link between Balarāma and Jagannātha.

The *Hayasirga Pañcarātra* (Circa 800 A.D.) in its section "*Puruṣottama Sthāpana Paṭalam*" identifies Ekānāśā with Subhadrā. The text also says that the Goddess should be consecrated according to the procedure of installation followed in the case of Lakṣmī. The *Utkalakhanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* also supports this by identifying Subhadrā with Lakṣmī (Ch. XIX, V. 17 and Ch. XXVII, Vs. 11-14). The deity Subhadrā according to the *Hayasirga Pañcarātra*, should be placed on the right side of the Lord Puruṣottama and on the left of Balarāma whose eyes are rolling through excessive drink. This procedure of placing the deities has been followed in the temple of Jagannātha<sup>9</sup>.

Several medieval stone and bronze reliefs of Ekānāśā have been discovered in India. One such bronze image of Ekānāśā with the other two associates has been preserved in the State Museum at Bhuvaneśvara. Another living example of worship of this deity Ekānāśā is to be found in the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneśvara. Here also the deity is placed in the middle and the other two i.e., Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are on her two sides. These three deities are called Śilā Brahma, whereas in the Jagannātha temple they are called Dāru Brahma.

Some writers, quoting a śloka from the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Tasya Śakti Svarūpeyaṁ Bhagīnī Strī Pravartikā) consider Subhadrā as both the sister and the wife of Jagannātha. But this idea is fantastic because in the realm of Hindu religion the concept of brother-sister worship is not a prevailing feature. On the other



hand there is the worship of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* or a God and His consort. Perhaps either the critics have wrongly read the *Śloka* in the *Skanda Purāṇa* or the editors of the said *Purāṇa* have misrepresented the fact. The *Śloka* may stand as "Bhaginī Sva Pravartikā" with more authenticity. The word 'Bhaginī' in this context may not be taken in the ordinary sense as 'sister' but as a *Śakti* who is endowed with *Bhagā* or *Aiśvarya*. The words 'Sva Pravartika' may mean one who can act herself and make others act according to her wish, *Swayam eva Pravartitum Pravartayitum Va Śīlam yasyāḥ sā svapravartikā*—Ichā-śakti. This new interpretation suggested by us will suit to our theory. So Subhadrā here stands for *Ādyaśakti* or primal energy of God and should be considered as the *Śakti* of *Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa* and not as a sister and wife at the same time as advocated by those scholars. The *Saivāgama* of *Bhojarāja* describes this *Māyā Śakti* of *Īśvara* (God) as the creator of *Kāla* (time)

Nānāvidha śaktimāyyeṣā janayati kālatatvamevādau

Bhavi Bhava bhuti-māyām kālayeti jagat kālo atah

(Kāla Nirūpanam Gadādhara Padhati, pp, 2-3)

It is interesting to note here that during *Ratha Yātrā* festival *Sudarśana* being the *kāla cakra* is first of all brought to the chariot and placed with *Subhadrā*. This is suggestive of *Subhadrā* being the creator of *kāla* and she is endowed with different powers or energies.

Moreover, according to the *Rūdra Yāmala Tantra* (Ch; XIV, S1,24), *Subhadra* is the Goddess *Rāgini* and she is to be worshipped with *Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha* and *Rāma-Balabhadra*. According to the same text (Ch, XXXXII, S1 112), *Subhadrā* is conceived as the *Śakti* or *Bhairavi* and *Jagannātha* as *Bhairava*. Here *Jagannātha* and *Subhadrā* are described as one and the same. The same text while describing the *Kṛṣṇa Mantra* (Ch XXXVIII, S1 4-5) states that *Balabhadra* and *Kṛṣṇa* are the *Brahmas* and *Subhadrā* is the *Śakti Kāli* united as *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* (Ch. XXXXII, S1. 110).

Let us now see how these three deities stand at the three levels in divine emanation.

*Balabhadra* stands for the Noumenal and the Transcendent—the unchangeable, the unqualified, the unmanifest, the pure absolute, *Śiva* or "the pure form of the good" (Plato) or the pure form of reason (Aristotle), the *cit* or "the pure consciousness" (*Advaita*), the ungiven—the Infinite (*purṇamadaḥ*) and full in itself. The method of realisation of this form is pure knowledge or *Jñāna*. In relation to *Jagannātha*, therefore, he appears to us as a form of Antithesis.

*Subhadra* stands for the phenomenal immanent whole, the changeable order (kṣara), the qualified (saṁgha), the manifest (vyakta), Prakṛti or Śakti, the Sat—existential, the world-pervading, the given Infinite (Idaṁ sarvaṁ), Natura Naturata (Spinoza). The method of realisation of this form is karma or action. In the same context she may be called a form of *Thesis*.

And finally *Jagannātha* stands for the Absolute—Puruṣottama, synthesis of the qualified and the unqualified, the transcendent and immanent, the manifest, and the un-manifest, parama Brahma and the ultimate bliss or ānanda. The method of realisation of this form is bhakti or prema. Hence, Jagannātha may be called a form of *Synthesis*.

## REFERENCES

1. The cult of Ekānāśā—I.H.Q., Vol. XXXV, No. 3, 1959, p. 189.
2. Ibid.
3. (a) Mahābhārata III, Ch. 213, Verse 118.  
(b) Journals of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, 1936, Article No. 5, p. 41.
4. Skanda Purāṇa, Ch. XX, Verse 31.
5. Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa III, Ch. 85, Verses 71-72.
6. J.R.A.S.B., Vol. II, 1936, p. 44.
7. The Cult of Ekānāśā, I.H.Q., Vol. XXXV, No. 3, p. 207.
8. Ibid, p. 197.
9. The cult of Ekānāśā, I.H.Q., Vol. XXXV, No. 3, 1959, pp. 202-203.



## APPENDIX V

### DESECRATION OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE

The fabulous account of the riches of the temple of Jagannātha served as an inducement to the Muhammadan invaders of Bengal to raid it from time to time. Some iconoclasts were also in their religious fanaticism prompted to attack the Hindu temples. In 1361 A.D. Feroze Saha Toglak invaded Orissa in the reign of Vanu Deva III and made the king of Orissa prisoner.

It is stated in Muslim chronicles that Feroze Saha ordered the destruction of the images of Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā and it was carried out. There is however a controversy about the location of the Jagannātha Temple destroyed by Feroze Saha's soldiers. There was a Jagannātha Temple in the Barabati Fort at Cuttack then known as Vārāṇasī to the Muslim invaders which was actually occupied by the army of Feroze Saha Toglak. So it is not known whether Jagannātha Temple situated at Cuttack or the famous temple at Puri was destroyed and desecrated by Feroze Saha. Since the Jagannātha Temple is still standing intact it is most likely that the temple desecrated by Feroze Saha was standing in the Barabati Fort at Cuttack.

There was a raid by Sultan Hussain Shah in 1509 during the reign of Pratāparūdra Gajapati, when he was away in an expedition. The priests removed the images of the presiding deities in a boat and concealed them in the Chadāi guhā hill of the Cilkā lake. The Sultan, in rage and disappointment, broke many other images in the temple, but retreated on return of the Gajapati king from his southern expedition.

The next attack on the temple was made in 1569 by Kālāpāhād the general of Sulaiman Karani during the reign of Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa. Kālāpāhād is said to have been a Brāhmin converted to Islam. After his conversion he came to Puri to perform expiation in the temple of Jagannātha, where he was turned out and insulted by the priests. That is why he invaded Orissa to wreak his vengeance on the temple and its priests. But this belief is disproved by historical examination, which shows that Kālāpāhād was an Afghan and not a Brāhmin, whose real name was Rāju<sup>1</sup>. His invasion of Orissa was a sequel to the continued hostilities between king Mukunda Deva and Sultan Sulaiman Karani of Bengal. At first Mukunda Deva made heroic attempts to repulse the Muslim



attack, but his attempts were ineffective owing to the treachery of some of his officers<sup>2</sup>. According to tradition Mukunda Deva died fighting with the Muslims at Gohira Tikri, near Jājpur<sup>3</sup>. But the Mādālā Pāñji<sup>4</sup> says that when the Oriya king was staying at Kotisimā fort in the Hughli district, he got the news of the occupation of Cuttack by Kālāpāhād and also of the revolt Rāmacandra Bhañja, Commandant of Sārangagarh, who proclaimed himself as king. So he submitted to the Sultan and left for Sarangagarh to fight with Rāmacandra<sup>5</sup>. In the fighting both of them were killed on the same day. With the death of Mukunda Deva, Orissa lost her independence and was occupied by the Afghans.

Kālāpāhād entered the coastal area near Balasore through the highlands of Mayurbhañj. According to the Mādālā Pāñji he came to Cuttack through the Kāṇsabāṇsa river. Kṛpāsindhu Miśra says that after the occupation of Jājpur followed by that of Cuttack, Kālāpāhād raided Bhuvaneśvar, Puri and Koṇārka. According to a legend, he invaded Sambalpur also. The broken images almost everywhere bear testimony to the ravages caused by this relentless persecutor of Hindu faith<sup>6</sup>. The Superintendent of the temple of Jagannātha, Parichhā Dibya Siṁha Paṭṭanaik had concealed the images beforehand near the Cilkā lake. Kālāpāhād however traced them out and carried them away upon the back of the elephants to the bank of the Gaṅgā where he set fire to them. According to tradition, which is disproved by historical facts, the notorious iconoclast died on the spot miserably as a consequence of sacrilege<sup>7</sup>. A by-stander threw the charred images of Jagannātha into water. The charred remnants floated down the stream. Bisor Mahānti, a Vaiṣṇava devotee followed it and extracted *Brahma* or the sacred part of it and secretly entrusted it to a Khandāit of Kujang. Later Rājā Rāmacandra Deva of Khurdā brought it back from Kujang and installed it in a new image. Before leaving Puri, Kālāpāhād desecrated the temple of Jagannātha, plundered the store, damaged other images and uprooted and set fire to the Kalpavata tree.

Regarding the burning of the images by Kālāpāhād, Abdul Fazl states that Kālāpāhād flung the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra into fire and burnt them and afterwards cast them into the sea<sup>7</sup>. It is assumed that the images were taken to the sea-shore near Kujang where Besar Mohanty was present<sup>8</sup>. Kālāpāhād long survived the desecration of Jagannātha temple and was killed in 1583<sup>9</sup>.

In the state of anarchy prevailing on the death of Mukunda Deva, Ramai Rautra son of Bhoi Janārdana Bidyādhara declared himself as Rāmacandra Deva, the Gajapati king of Orissa with his capital at Khurda<sup>10</sup>. The Moghul army under the command of Raja Todar Mall, Revenue Minister of Akbar, brought the Afghan regime to its end after killing Daud, the successor of Sultan Sulaiman Karani, and Orissa became a part of the Mughal empire. Todarmall, however, recognised



Rāmacandra Deva as a semi-independent king with a small territory in his possession. Subsequently Rājā Mansingh came to effect the final conquest of Orissa. He enlarged the territory of Rāmācandra Deva but reduced him to the position of a feudatory ruler of the Mughal Emperor. During the reign of Puruṣottama Deva, the son of Rāmācandra Deva the temple of Jagannātha was plundered by Kesodas Māru a Rajput officer under Jehangir. He came on a pilgrimage to Purī and after entering the temple he converted it into a fort. The soldiers of king Puruṣottama Deva fought and were defeated.

## REFERENCES

1. P. Mukherjee's History of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa, p. 11.
2. Elliot and Downson, Vol. IV, p. 511 & Vol. VI, p. 41.
3. J.A.S.B. 1871, p. 152 and J.A.S.B. 1883, p. 234.
4. Madalāpāñji Prāchi, p. 60.
5. Ākbarnāmā translated by Beveridge, Vol. III, pp. 933-934.
6. Madalāpāñji, Prāchi, pp. 61-62.
7. Jarret's—Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 128.
8. P. Mukherjee's Gajapati Kings of Orissa, p. 118.
9. Beveridge's Ākbarnāmā, Vol. II, p. 592.
10. K. S. Mishra—Utkala Itihāsa, p. 236.

## APPENDIX VI

### CHATISĀNIYOGA\*

Chatisāniyoga refers to thirty-six categories of servants employed in the temple. But at present there are 101 categories of servants (Sevakas) as recorded in the report of the Special Officer, Jagannātha temple. They are—

1. *Rājā* of Purī—Superintendent. (At present one of the Members of the Temple Committee).
2. *Mudiratha* or *Mudirasta*—He officiates for the Rājā in Cherāpaharā and other functions when the Rājā is prevented from performing them for some reason or other.
3. *Chatishā Nijago Nāyak Pātjoshi Mahāpātra* and *Bhandār Nāyak*—He had vast power and functions in the Past but many have disappeared at present and he is of the Pasupālak class and had the key of the Bhandār till 1930. He is to execute all orders of the Temple authorities and to see that all the Sebakas do their duty properly. Performs Sāri Bandhā ceremony.
4. *Bhitarcho Mahāpātra*—He is the first man to go for Dwārfitā ceremony (opening of the doors) and to examine the seals, performs Sāri Bandhā ceremony and checks the purity of the Bhog offered.
5. *Talicho Mahāpātra*—He seals doors at night Pahuḍa (retiring to bed) and controls and checks the purity of the Kitchen.
6. *Bhandār Mekāp*—In charge of Bāhār Bhandār containing all the jewellery, etc., required for the daily use of the Deities.
7. *Parichās*—Parichās were at one time managing the Temple whose work is now reduced at present to hold a gold cane at the Sakāḷa Dhupa Patuāra and in certain festivals.
8. *Deul Karana*—He keeps accounts of the Bhandār, Chāngadā Ghars, transfer of Seba and distributes Parbāṇi Kheis.
9. *Tadāū Karana*—He keeps accounts of the Bhandār and as Tadāū puts seals in functions when required and puts dates about all Nīti.
10. Various other kinds of Karans who keep accounts and distribute Kheis, etc.

\*The list is taken from the report of the Special Officer under Sri Jagannatha Temple Act (1957), Orissa.



11. *Charchiat*—Who make Charchā or to see that the Nitis are performed regularly.
12. Brahmins or Purohit, including Deul Purohit who makes Rath Anukuṣa, Avisek, etc. Śrī Bimalā Pujak, who perform Pujā in Shol-Pujā and Shrotriya Brahmins who are deputed for Nabakalebar to perform as Ācāryas and the various other ceremonies connected therewith.
13. Pujaks consisting of Pujā Paṇḍās who perform Pujā, i.e., Naibedya for the deities and the Baḍa-Paṇḍā is also a Pujā Pandā appointed to see that other puja Pandās perform their duties regularly.
14. Daitas who work on special occasions like Nabakalebar, Car festival, Anabasar, etc.
15. Patis who work with Daitas but who have got other special functions, being Brahmin Sebaks.
16. Duttas who work for Shrimukh Sinhar.
17. Khuntias of various kinds like Pāliā Khuntiā, Beherā Khuntiā, Bilaijagā Khuntiā, Rukuṇā Haraṇa Khuntiā, etc., their main duty being to pronounce Manimā Dāk, etc., and watch the Deities.
18. Chāṅgaḍā Mekāp who is in charge of Deities' clothes and other Mekāps like Pāliā Mekāps have specific duties to perform. Akhaṇḍ Mekāp is to light Ratna Dīpa of the Deities from Dwar-fitā to Pahuḍa.
19. Padhiaris who guard the Deities, go to call for Bhogs and are to look to the safety of the pilgrims.
20. *Gochikārs*—They belong to Padhiāri class who watch Jaya-Bijaya Dwār.
21. *Bṛṇākār*—Who plays Bṛṇā to the Deities before they go to sleep.
22. *Bhitar Gayeṇi*—Sings songs at the time of Pahuḍa and at other festivals.
23. *Samprada Nijog*, i.e., dancing girls who dance at the time of Patuāra.
24. *Mādeli*—Plays Mādaḷa at the time of Patuāra.
25. *Sankhuā*—Plays with Sankh with Baijyantries.
26. *Kāhālīā*—Blows Bije Kāhālīā.
27. *Ghanṭuā and Ghanṭa Nijog*—Working with Bells daily and on festivals.
28. *Amoniā Chatar*—Chatar, Taras, Kalakanati Sebaks—for carrying umbrellas at festivals, etc.
29. *Gītgovinda Sevaka*—who recites the Gītgovinda before the Lord at Chandan Lāgi.
30. *Chakra Dihuri and Chāmu Dihuri* who carry masals at festivals, etc.
31. The *Sinhāris* or Paśupālaks who dress the Lords in clothing and adorn them with flowers at all times and perform their Abakāsh Pujā.

32. *Suār Baḍus* (Bhog Saita Suār Baḍu, Beherā Suār Baḍu) who wash the Pokhariā several times, supply Khaṭa, Chauki, etc.
33. *Patri Baḍu*—Who supply Pūjā Upākaraṇs throughout the day.
34. *Garābaḍu* who serve the Gods by supplying water at times of Pūjās and other Nitis.
35. *Sudha Suāra* and *Aṇasara Sudha Suār* who make preparations for Pūjā (Pujathan at Ballav Bhog, etc.)
36. *Muduli* who keeps charge of Pūjā utensils and other daily Pūjā Upākaraṇs and supplies to Mekāps.
37. *Hadap Nayāk*, *Bidia Jogāñiā* and *Tambul Sebak* who serve to prepare and carry betel to the Lords.
38. *Ghatuāris* to prepare and serve Anjana, Chandan and Mahādipa for daily and Parbajātrā Nitis.
39. *Tulasī* who supplies Tulsi leaves daily.
40. *Dayaṇāmālis* who supply daily scented flowers.
41. *Mahābhoi* who supplies curd and other milk products.
42. *Pāni-āpata* who supplies water required in the Temple throughout the day.
43. *Balitā Sebak* who supplies Ārati Baḷitā.
44. *Kumbhār Bishois* who supplies Hāṇḍi and Kuḍuā and other pottery required daily.
45. *Douḍiā* who supplies rope to draw water from Shri Bimalā well.
46. *Mālacula Sebak* who supplies Cul, etc., for some festivals.
47. *Muliā Suansiā* who supplies Khaṭa Pidhā, etc.
48. *Jogāñiās* for Koth Bhoga, Parbajātrā, Ballav and Bāhār Deuli to carry articles and Ballav and supply them at required places.
49. *Bimān Baḍus* who carry all Bije Bimāns, etc.
50. *Cāpa Beherā* and *Dolā-is* who work to prepare Cāpas.
51. *Rath Bhois* who work and supply labourers for construction of Cars.
52. *Kalābethiās* who drag the cars.
53. *Karatiās* or Sawers who work for Car construction.
54. *Tāmra Bishoi* who works as copper-smith in Car festivals.
55. *Citrakāras* and *Rūpakāras* who colour and prepare Pratimās for decoration of cars, etc.
56. *Ojhā Mahāraṇā* who works as black-smith.



57. *Ratha Dāhuka* who sings on Cars.
58. *Bāṇuā* who supplies fire-works when required.
59. *Cakā Aṇasara Sebaka* who keeps their charge from Tailors.
60. *Mandṇi* who ties Chanduā when required.
61. *Kotha Suansiā* who works as labourers to prepare huts, Chāmudiās, etc., at festivals.
62. *Sunā Goswāmī* who draws water from Sunā Kuān on Snān Pūrṇimā.
63. *Darjīs* who stitch clothes, Chaka Apsar, etc.
64. *Pātras* who prepare silk ropes, etc.
65. *Badhai* or carpenters who work for Cars and Chāpas.
66. *Pāṇikunda Sebaka*, *Lugādhuā* and *Mahāsethi* who work to wash Deities' clothes.
67. *Baṇiā* who prepares and repairs ornaments.
- 68-70. *Baḍu*, *Tātua* and *Patar Bandha* who work in sending Tāṭa to Rājā Superintendent.
71. *Mukha Pakhāla'* who prepares Tooth-sticks for the Deities.
72. *Khatuli Sebaka* who puts Khatuli for Abakās Pūjā.
73. *Darpaṇiā* who supplies Darpaṇ and also cleans Deities' utensils.
74. *Baidya* or Doctor who gives medicine at Aṇabasar to the Lord.
75. *Jyotiṣ* or Astrologer who daily reads Tithis, etc., before the Lord at Abakās Pūjā time.
76. *Cunarās* who serve for Garuḍa.
77. *Lenka* who works to call Sebakas.
78. *Pradhāni* who works to call Paṇḍās and has other duties, and distributes Kheis at Mukti Mandapa.
79. *Paiks* with their heads, Dolei and Dalabeherās, who are to stay throughout day and night and work according to orders of Temple authorities.
80. *Temple Police* who guard the Temple.
81. The *Mahāsuāras* who take first "Chheka" to the Pantī.
82. *Suārs* of various categories known by different names according to nature of duties who cook and prepare Bhog like Baḍu Suār, Pitha Suār, Cuna Suār, Thālī Suār, Amālu Suār, Bindua, Paguā, Amālu Toḷi. Toḷa Baḍu and Toḷa Bati, i.e., who show light.
83. *Roṣa Amina* and *Rosh Paika* who watch and supervise the kitchen.
84. *Hāṇḍi Jōgāṇiā* who supplies pots for Bhogas.

85. *Bahār Deuli* Suārs who cook in Shri Laxmi's Roshā.
86. *Roṣa Kothā Bhog Pāṇiā* who supplies waters to Kitchen, etc.
87. *Paniki Pāta* who prepares dresses and vegetables.
88. *Raṣa Nikāp* who prepares Gandhana article like Ginger, etc., and distributes ghee to some Sebakas.
89. *Cāula Bachā* who cleans the rice to be cooked.
- 90- *Cuhāmundā Samartha*, *Birimundā Samartha* and *Biribuhā Samartha*—are those who
92. supply rice, flour and ground Paste, black gram and those who carry.
93. *Pātri Baḍus* who carry Checkos.
94. *Bidiās* who make Muthmal or Checkos ready.
- 95- *Dho-Pakhāliā*, *Gobar-Paṇiā*, *Angāruā* and *Rabādīā*—who wash and clean the
98. kitchen and Chulis and who supplies water for the purpose.
99. *Sabuta Nijog* who have Sebā on Amābasyā days at Swargadwāra.
100. *Mudrā* who puts Mudrā at time of putting seals.
101. *Bentindhārā Pāik* has Sebā on festive Nītis.

N.B. The above-cited nomenclature is the reproduction of the report of the Special Officer, under Śrī Jagannātha Temple Act (1957) Orissa. Many terms referred herein need a detailed analysis. But the precise list is given for want of space. However, the entire net-work of employees engaged in the temple is a unique feature in the world.



# APPENDIX VII

## LIST OF MAṬHAS AT PURĪ\*

( List procured from the Temple Office as well as from the various maṭhas  
and the categories given here are according to traditions )

Age	Name of the Maṭha	Type. Sect (Sampradāya)
6th century	Vṛgu Āśram	Angilā
7th century	Angirā „	-do-
9th century	Govardhana	Advaita
-do-	Śankarānanda	-do-
10th century	Mahiprakāsha	Brahmachārī
12th century	Rāmānuja Kota	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Trimāli	-do-
-do-	Baḍa Santha	-do-
-do-	Emāra Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Sāna Santha	Gāduā Mādhava
-do-	Gopāla Tirtha	Advaita
-do-	Śiva Tirtha	-do-
-do-	Baḍa Jhāḍu	Angilā
13th century	Daśavatāra Maṭha	-do-
14th century	Languḷi Maṭha	Daśanami
-do-	Baḍa Chatā Maṭha	Angilā, Rāmānanda
15th century	Chāuṇi Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Rāghavādāsa Maṭha	-do-
16th century	Kavīra Caurā	Santhamata
-do-	Bāuli Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Sidha Bakuḷa Maṭha	Acintya Vedā Veda
-do-	Rādhā Kānta	-do-
-do-	Gangāmātā	-do-
-do-	Haridākhandi Maṭha	Rāmānandi
-do-	Śrīrām Das Maṭha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Narasimhācārī „	-do-
-do-	Sāna Jhāḍu	Angilā, Viśiṣṭādwita

\* Maṭhas or religious monasteries at Purī.

<i>Age</i>	<i>Name of the Maṭha</i>	<i>Type. Sect (Sampradāya)</i>
16th century	Kunja Maṭha	Goudiya
-do-	Śiśu Maṭha	Utkaliya Vaiṣṇava
-do-	Cakra Tirtha Maṭha	Angilā Viśiṣṭādwita
-do-	Ghumusar Maṭha	Rāmānandī
-do-	Dagarā Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Labanīkhiā Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Purāṇa Savā Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Gandharva Maṭha	Utkaliya Vaiṣṇava
-do-	Acyutā Maṭha	Goudiya
-do-	Goswāmī Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Śāta Laharī Maṭha	Ati Badi
-do-	Śāta Āsana Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Haridās Maṭha	Acintyavedā Veda
-do-	Totā Gopinātha	-do-
-do-	Dukhiśyām Bābā Maṭha	Abadhūta
-do-	Baḍa Oriyā Maṭha	Ati Badi Gādwā Mādhava
-do-	Sāna Oriyā Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Kali Tilaka	Angilā
-do-	Baḍa Ākhaḍā	Pañca Rāmānanda
-do-	Chhāuni Chhātra	Khairatā
-do-	Kadaḷi Patukā Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Jagannātha Ballava Maṭha	Viṣṇuswāmī
-do-	Malei Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Rangānaikā Cāri	Viśiṣṭādwita
17th century	Swargadwāra Chatā	Rāmānandī
-do-	Benkatācāri Maṭha	Viśiṣṭādwita
-do-	Kauśalyā Das	-do-
-do-	Panjabi	-do-
-do-	Balarām Kota	Rāmānandī
-do-	Sundar Das	-do-
-do-	Khilor Maṭha	Community (Sampradāya)
-do-	Nuā Maṭha	Rāmānandī
-do-	Neuḷadās Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Rādhāballavi	Nunarka
-do-	Mangu	Santhamātā
-do-	Nārāyaṇa Chatā	Goudiya
-do-	Sunāgoswāmī Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Nāgā	Rāmānandī
-do-	Poda Maṭha	Angilā



<i>Age</i>	<i>Name of the Maṭha</i>	<i>Type. Sect (Sampradāya)</i>
17th century	Cuttacki Matha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Sānachatā Matha	Rāmānandā
-do-	Rāmji Matha	Nimbārka
-do-	Jejerām Matha	Rāmānandī
-do-	Mahāpravujike Baithaka	Ballavakuḷa
-do-	Māhābīria Matha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
18th century	Kāpedia	Community. Rāmānandī
-do-	Khāki Ākhaḍā	Khāki Pañcāyata
-do-	Sāl Bega	Godwa Modwa
-do-	Hāti Ākhaḍā	Pañca Rāmānandī
-do-	Bāgha Ākhaḍā	-do-
-do-	Nirbaṇi Ākhaḍā	-do-
-do-	Nirmohi Ākhaḍā	-do-
-do-	Nima Ākhaḍā	-do-
-do-	Patiā Rāṇi Matha	Godwa Madwa
-do-	Pipaḷāyana	Rāmānandī
-do-	Maṇi Rāma Matha	-do-
-do-	Rimā Chatra	Khairāta
-do-	Vaṇiā Chatra	-do-
-do-	Rāṇi Matha	-do-
-do-	Khajuriā Matha	Godwa Madhua
-do-	Hāti Gurudeb Matha	Abadhūta
-do-	Uttara Pārśva Matha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Surangi Matha	Goudiya
-do-	Falāhāri Matha	Abadhūta
-do-	Jaḍā Matha	Community
-do-	Rūni Matha	Goudiya
-do-	Luṇiā Chowdhury	-do-
-do-	Jagat Mohan	-do-
-do-	Jayapur	-do-
-do-	Cikiti	-do-
-do-	Baḍa Taraḷā	-do-
-do-	Sāna Taraḷā	-do-
-do-	Jirswāmī	Viśiṣṭādvaita
19th century	Patara	Community
-do-	Jānjapitā Matha	Acintyavedā Veda
-da-	Damparā Matha	Gouda Mādhva
-do-	Haḷadia Matha	-do-

<i>Age</i>	<i>Name of the Maṭha</i>	<i>Type. Sect (Sampradāya)</i>
19th century	Bhārati Maṭha	Advaita Maṭha
-do-	Niranjanachata Maṭha	Aghorapanthī
-do-	Jhāḍu Maṭha	Community
-do-	Sidha Maṭha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Kaṇāsa	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Krupā Samudra	-do-
-do-	Taraṇi Chatra Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Biśākhā Maṭha	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Baḍa Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Jayapore Maṭha	Khairāta
-do-	Jatiā Bābāji Maṭha	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Jenā Maṭha	-do-
20th century	Rām Kṛṣṇa	Modern
-do-	Jogadā	-do-
-do-	Satyaparakāśa	-do-
-do-	Girenari	-do-
-do-	Uṃkārnātha Sitārām Dās	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Puruṣottama Maṭha	Goudiya
-do-	Naya Maṭha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Bābā Brahmācārī	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Arjunadās Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Baḷagandī	Rāmānandī
-do-	Cāulīa Maṭha	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Faḷāhārī	-do-
-do-	Baḷi Bābāji	-do-
-do-	Paramānanda Dās	Goudiya
-do-	Nidhi Dās	-do-
-do-	Nandi Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Abadhūta Maṭha	Modern

It is very fascinating to note that among all the places of pilgrimage throughout India, Purī is conspicuous for its having innumerable Mathas. All of them, however, are not of same type : they may, however, be classified into four groups in the following manner :

1. Āśrama type ;
2. Raj-angilā type ;
3. Individual and sectarian type and
4. Caste-group type.

*Āśrama type* : Maṭhas of this category are generally named after the great



R̥ṣis of ancient India. There are four Maṭhas of this type situated in the four corners of the town. They are like Bhṛgu Āśram, Āngirā Āśram etc.

*Rajangilā type* : Maṭhas of this type are established under royal patronage and they are many in number.

*Individual and Sectarian type* : Maṭhas falling in this category are established either by eminent individuals or by well-known sects of India. They are (i) Advaita Maṭha or Śankar Maṭha; (ii) Viśiṣṭādvaita Maṭha or Rāmānuja Maṭha; (iii) Dvaita Maṭha or Mādhava Maṭha; (iv) Dvaitādvaita Maṭha; (v) Acintya Vedāveda Maṭha or Goudiya Maṭha; and (vi) Atibāḍi Maṭha or Oddissī Maṭha. There are as many Maṭhas at Purī as there are philosophical sects in India. Even at Purī many Maṭhas of other religions have been existing from very remote past. Nānak Maṭha and Kabīr Maṭha are non-Hindu Maṭhas, existing side by side with many Hindu Maṭhas. Like Jagannātha Dharma (religion), the place of Jagannātha has also attracted different religionists of India to establish their Maṭhas in this sacred city. It is needless to say that almost all the Maṭhas at Purī have connections with the temple of Jagannātha.

*Caste-Group Maṭha* : This type of Maṭhas is established by different castes of people having religio-social function in the main temple.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Vedas*

- Atharvaveda with the comm. of Sāyanācārya, Bombay, 1895-1898.  
— Paippalādasamhitā, by Raghuvira, Lahore, 1936-41.  
Ṛgvedasamhitā with the comm. of Sāyanācārya, Poona, 1946-51.  
Taittirīyasaṁhitā with the comm. of Sāyanācārya, Calcutta, 1860-1899.  
— with the comm. of Bhattabhaskara, Mysore, 1894-1898.

### *Brāhmaṇas*

- Aitareyabrāhmaṇa with the comm. of Sāyanācārya, Poona, 1896.  
— with the comm. of Sadgurusiya ( T.S.S. ), 1955.  
Satapathabrāhmaṇa with the comm. of Sāyanācārya, Bombay, 1940.

### *Upaniṣads*

Brhadāranyakopaniṣad  
Chāṇḍogyopaniṣad  
Kaivalyopaniṣad  
Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad  
Māṇḍukyopaniṣad  
Śvetāśvataropaniṣad

128 Upaniṣads, Bombay  
N. S. Press, 1948.

### *Purāṇas*

- Agnipurāṇam, Poona, 1900, (A.S.S.)  
Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Bombay, 1908  
Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Bombay, 1910, (A.S.S.)  
Brahmapurāṇam, Poona, 1895  
Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, Poona, 1935, (A.S.S.)  
Matsyapurāṇa, Poona, 1907, (A.S.S.)  
Nāradaipurāṇa, Bombay, 1905  
Padmapurāṇa, Poona, 1893-34, (A.S.S.)



- Skandapurāṇa, Calcutta, Bombay, 1910  
 — Utkalakhaṇḍa, Calcutta, 1911  
 Viṣṇupurāṇa, Bombay, 1910  
 Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam, Bombay, 1912

### *Māhātmyas*

- Ekāmrapurāṇam, Cuttack, 1940  
 Kapilasāṁhitā, Cuttack  
 Puruṣottamakṣetramāhātmyam  
 Nilādrimahodayam  
 Puruṣottamacandrikā  
 Tīrthacintāmaṇi

### *Āgamas and Tantras*

- Ahīrbudhnaśāṁhitā, Adyar, 1916  
 Br̥hadbrahmasāṁhitā, Poona, 1912, (A.S.S.)  
 Jayākhyasāṁhitā, Baroda, 1931  
 Kaulāvalītantra, Calcutta  
 Lakṣmitantra, Adyar  
 Merutantram, Calcutta  
 Paramasāṁhitā, Baroda, 1940  
 Paratṛṁsika, Srinagar  
 Prapañcasāra, Calcutta  
 Prapañcasārasaṅgraha, Tanjore, 1962 by Girvanendra Sarasvatī  
 Rudrayāmaḷa Tantra, Bombay  
 Sāradātilaka Tantra, Calcutta  
 Tantracuḍāmaṇi  
 Tantrarājaatantram  
 Tantrayāmalatantram  
 Utsavavidhi, Mysore  
 Vaikhānasāgama, Trivandrum, 1935, (T.S.S.)  
 Viṣṇusāṁhitā, Trivandrum

### *Dharmaśāstras*

- Bārhaspatyasūtram with English tr. by F. W. Thomas, 1922  
 Vṛddhahārītasmtī, Calcutta, (Smritisandharbha)  
 History of Dharmaśāstra by P. V. Kane, Vols. I-V

### *Silpaśāstras*

- Br̥hasāṁhitā of Varāha Mihira with the comm. of M. M. Sudhakara Dvivedi,  
 Benares

Kāśyapaśilpam, Poona, 1926, (A.S.S.)

Samarāṅganāsūtradhara of Bhoja: ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Baroda, 1924

### *Buddhist Texts*

Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti, Baroda, 1929

### *Jaina Works*

Tattvārthādhigamasūtra

### *Epics*

Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Madras

Mahābhārata with the comm. of Nīlakaṇṭha, Poona, 1955

### *Darśanas*

Sāṅkhya Kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa with the comm. of Gaudapāda and English tr. by H. T. Colebrooke, Oxford, 1837

### *Other Works*

Anargharāghavam of Murari, Bombay 1908

Candrakalā Nāṭikā ed. by S. N. Rajaguru and Sarvesvara Das, Bhubaneswar

Gaṅgavaiṣṇānucaritam

Kośalānandamahākāvyaṃ

Paraśurāma vijayanāṭakam

Jagannātha Kaifiat

(M.S.S. Oriental Library, Madras)

History of Indian Literature by Winternitz, 1927-1933

History of Sanskrit Literature by S. N. Dasgupta, and S. K. De, Calcutta, 1947

Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Haraprasad Sastri

Report on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Seshadri Sastri

Acharya, C. M., Puri, Cuttack, 1941

Banerjee, J. N., Development of Hindu Iconography, India, Calcutta 1956

Banerjee, R. D., History of Orissa, Calcutta, 1930-31

Barret Baugles, Mukhalingam Temples, 1934

Beveridge, Akbarnama, Calcutta, 1897-1912

Bhandarkar R. G. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor, religious systems, Strassburg, 1913

Bose N. N. Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa, Calcutta, 1911

Bose N. K. Canons of Orissan Architecture, Calcutta, 1832

Chakravarti Pulinbihari. Origin and development of Sāṅkhya system of thought, Calcutta, 1951.

} Manuscripts in the State  
Museum, Orissa



- Chanda R. P., *Archæology and Vaishnava tradition*, Calcutta
- Carpus Inscription Indicarum, Hultzsck
- Ancient Geography of India, London, 1871
- Bhilsa Topes, London, 1854
- Puri District Gazetteer
- Elliot H. M. and (Downson John)
- History of India as told by its own historians, Aligarh, 1952
- Encyclopædia Indica., V. XI. Edition
- Ferguson James. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (2nd edition by J. Burgess)
- Fouchet. Naxpol. Architecture
- Erotic Sculptures of India, London, 1959
- Ganguli. M. M., Orissa and her remains, Calcutta, 1912
- Ghosh. B. K., History of Poori, 1848
- Hunter. Orissa. Calcutta.
- Indian History Congress. Proceedings. 21st Session. 1958
- Indian Historical Record Commission Report
- Jacobi Herrmann. Studies in Jainism
- Jarret. Ain-in Akbari, Calcutta, 1949
- Kant. Critical Philosophy, London, 1889-1915
- Kramrisch Stella—Homage to Khajuraho. Bombay, 1961
- Levi. S. L. Madhyant a Vibhagatika
- Madras. Archæological Reports.
- Mahtab. H. K. History of Orissa. Lucknow, 1949
- Majumdar. R. C., History of Bengal
- Marquis of Wellesly. Despatches (Calcutta Review. Vol. X, 1868)
- Mitra. R. L., Antiquities of Orissa, Calcutta, 1875-1880
- Mukherjee, Probhat, History of medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa Calcutta, 1940
- Mukherjee, Probhat, History of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa. Calcutta, 1953
- Mukherjee, Sajamanandadasa, Cult of Ekanamsa (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 35, 1959)
- Orissa. Board of Revenue, Correspondence preserved in the Board's Office.
- Panigrahi, K. C., Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and Somavamsi Kings of Orissa, Madras
- Patterson. T. D. on Jagannātha. (Asiatic Researches, Vol. 8)
- Rajaguru. S. N. Inscriptions of Orissa
- Rousset. Luis. India and its Princes, London, 1876
- Roy, H. C., Dynastic History of Northern India, Calcutta, 1931-32
- Materials for the Study of Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, India, Calcutta-1936. (H. C. Raychoudhury)

- Sarkar. D. C. Select Inscriptions, Calcutta  
 The Saktapithas. Calcutta, 1948  
 Saraswati. S. K. Arts and Architecture (History of India and its people. Vol. IV and V), Bharatiya Vidyabhavan.  
 South Indian Historical Inscriptions  
 Smith. V. A. History of India. Oxford. 1904  
 Spinoza. Benedictus de.  
 Ethics. as the Book of God. 1952  
 • Subrahmanyam. The Suryavamsi Gajapatis of Orissa.  
 Taranatha Lama., Mystic tales of Lama—Taranatha. Calcutta, 1944  
 Wilkins. W. J. Hindu Mythology Vedic and Pauranic. Calcutta, 1913

### *Bengali*

- Banerjee, J. N. Pancopāsanā, Calcutta, 1960  
 Bhāttācharya, Divachandra Vidyarnava, Tantraratanam, 1893-1914  
 Brahmachari, Krishnananda. Soubhagya Manjushā  
 Brahmachari Santiprakash—Jagannathamahatmya, Puri 1926  
 Purushottama Mahatmya O Tirthaparikramā, Puri  
 Dharma Pujaavidhanam of Ramai Pandit, Calcutta  
 Vidyavinode, Saundarananda, Sriketra, Calcutta, 1951

### *Oriya*

- Brahmasāṅkuli of Achyutānanda Das, Cuttack, 1933  
 Chayalisa Patala—Achyutānanda Das, Cuttack, 1952  
 Chāttabhagavata  
 Darubrahmagītā of Jagannātha Dasa, Contai 1912  
 Deul Tala. of Nilambara Das, Cuttack, 1916.  
 Guptagītā of Balaramadasa, Cuttack, 1954  
 Jagannātha Charitamritam, Dibakara Dasa  
 Jagannātha Mandira—S. Das  
 Konarka of K. S. Misra  
 Koṭi Brahmāṇḍa Sundarī—Bhanja  
 Nijasundara Gītā—Śikhara Das  
 Nirguna Mahatmya  
 Premabhakti Brahmagītā of Yasavanta Dasa  
 Rahasyamanjari—Deva Durlabha Das  
 Rasakallola, Dina Krishna Dasa  
 Saptanga Yogasāratikā  
 Sāralā Mahābhārata of Sarala Dasa



Sāraswatagītā  
 Sivasvarodaya  
 Śuṇya Saṁhitā—Acyutānanda Das  
 Virātagītā  
 Viṣṇugarbhapurāṇa  
 Vedāntasaraguptagītā  
 Utkala Itihasa of Kripasindhu Misra, Cuttack, 1933

### *Journals*

Archæological Survey of India  
 Epigraphia Indic  
 Reports  
 Economic Weekly  
 Indian Culture  
 Indian Antiquary  
 Indian Historical Quarterly  
 Journal of Andhra Historical Society  
 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal  
 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society  
 Journal of Bihar and Orissa Historical Research Society  
 Journal of Orissa Historical Research Society  
 Journal of Mahakosala Historical Society  
 Man in India

### *Journals in Oriya*

Diganta  
 Jhankara  
 Konark  
 Satyavādi  
 Nababharata  
 Utkala Sahitya

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.I.	...	Archæological Survey of India
A.S.R.	...	Asiatic Researches
C.I.I.	...	Carpus Inscriptions Indicarum
E.I.	...	Epigraphia Indica
I.A.	...	Indian Antiquary
I.H.Q.	...	Indian Historical Quarterly
I.O.	...	Inscriptions of Orissa
I.Q.	...	Indian Quarterly
J.A.S.	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta
J.A.H.R.S.	...	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
J.A.S.B.	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.B.R.A.S.	...	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.B.O.R.S.	...	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J.K.H.R.S.	...	Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society
J.M.H.S.	...	Journal of the Mahakosala Historical Society
O.H.R.I.	...	Orissa Historical Research Journal
S.I.I.	...	South Indian Inscriptions





## INDEX

Following abbreviations are used in the Index, e.g.

c — country	g — god or goddess	o — officer	r — river
d — district	h — hill	p — place	t — town
f — family	k — king	q — queen	v — village
	m — mountain		

- Avalokiteśvara (g), 19  
 Avantī (c), 76, 88, 83  
 Abdul Fazal, 221  
 Abhinava Gitagovinda, 53  
 Abhinava Gupta, 37  
 Abhinava Indradymna (k), 84, 136  
 Abhiṣeka, 129, 147  
 Abhūta Parikalpa, 159  
 Acyuta, 157  
 Adhināyaka, 121  
 Ādi Buddha, 160-61, 170  
 Ādi Prajñā, 160-61  
 Āditya Sena (k), 2  
 Agniśvara Mahādeva (g), 105  
 Āi-in-Ākbārī, 200  
 Aiteriya Brāhmaṇa, 84  
 Ākbar (k), 60-61, 122, 200  
 Alekha, 165-66  
 Aliverdikhan, 63  
 Āllvaranāth Temple, 152  
 Amogha (g), 150  
 Anavasara, 82, 95, 129-130  
 Ānanda Bazār, 107  
 Anaṅga Vajra (k), 168  
 Anaṅga Bhīmadeva (k), 34-35  
 Anaṅga Bhīmadev III (k), 43-44, 47, 101, 120, 123  
 Ananta (g), 73, 110, 157, 168, 181  
 Ananta Varman Coḍagaṅga (k), 32, 101  
 Ananta Vāsudeva (g), 47, 56, 107  
 Ananta Nāga (g), 15  
 Anargha Rāghava, 36  
 Aniruddha (g), 183  
 Aniyanka Bhīma (k), 34, 43  
 Aniyanka Bhīma III (k), 42-45  
 Antarvedī, 73, 143  
 Ārākān (p), 86  
 Ārati, 147-48  
 Ardhanārīśvara (g), 149  
 Ardhanārīśvara Liṅga (g), 151  
 Aristotle, 177  
 Āryas, 14, 95  
 Ārya Bhikṣu Saṅgha (f), 19  
 Āryamañjuśrī Mūlakaḷpa, 19  
 Aśoka (k), 1, 2, 19  
 Aśvamedha, 4, 143  
 Aṣṭapāttavaṁśī (q), 162  
 Aṭharanaḷā Bridge, 122  
 Atharva Veda, 71, 91  
 Baḍa Dāṇḍa, 133  
 Baḍa Siṃhāra Veśa, 149  
 Baḍa Thākura (g), 55  
 Badrinātha (g), 9, 42, 105  
 Bāhamani Sultan (k), 49-50  
 Bāhuḍā Yātrā, 133-34  
 Bāiśi Pāhāca, 104  
 Baktiyar Khilzi, 42  
 Baḷabhadra (g), 15, 21-22, 36, 38, 39, 44, 47, 72, 77, 144-45, 151, 170, 177  
 Baḷadeva (g), 15  
 Bāji, 85  
 Bāḷakāti (v), 167  
 Bāḷamukunda, 105  
 Balasore (d), 18  
 Banarjee, R. D., 32  
 Bārhaspatya Sūtra, 36, 78



- Bastar (t), 8  
 Baṭavihārī Jagannātha, 105  
 Baudh (d), 23  
 Beal S., 85  
 Bengal (c), 43  
 Beṇu Mādhav (g), 107  
 Berma (c), 85  
 Bhāvabibhāvinī, 57  
 Bhāvadatta, (k), 8  
 Bhadrā (g), 150  
 Bhadrāmbikā (g), 44  
 Bhagaban Dutta, 36  
 Bhagavad Gitā, 33, 87  
 Bhāgavat, 48, 55, 133, 138, 146  
 Bhairava (g), 150, 157, 218  
 Bhairavi (g), 107, 157, 218  
 Bhalika, 2  
 Bhaṇḍa Gaṇeśa (g), 107  
 Bhaṇḍārkar, 46  
 Bhanja (f), 4, 14, 39  
 Bhanja Rāma Candra (k), 221  
 Bhānu I (k), 47  
 Bhānu III (k), 48, 220  
 Bhānu IV (k), 49  
 Bhānu Vardhan (k), 14  
 Bhānu Dev II (k), 48  
 Bhāsvatī, 38  
 Bhāskara Varman (k), 9  
 Bhāskareśvara (g), 19  
 Bhauma (f), 1, 22, 38, 39  
 Bhaumakara (f), 9, 15, 20, 23, 156  
 Bhubaneśvara, 19, 31, 151, 153  
 Bhubaneśvari (g), 107, 151, 157  
 Bhūdevī (g), 78  
 Bhujaṅgama Purī (p), 23  
 Bhuṣaṇḍha Kāka, 106  
 Bhogas, 148, 149, 193, 202  
 Bhogamaṇḍpa, 101, 148  
 Bhoi dynasty, 84, 122  
 Bhoi Janārdana Vidyādhara, 221  
 Bhoja Varma Dev (k), 41  
 Bhīma, 15, 18  
 Bhītarchu Mahāpātra, 147-48  
 Bhītarchu Niyoga, 121  
 Bibhūti (g), 150  
 Birajā (g), 21  
 Bolangir (t), 38, 151  
 Brahmā (g), 12, 16, 109, 144  
 Brāhmans (f), 2, 19-20, 30, 42  
 Brahmāṇī (g), 150  
 Brahmagiri (p), 152  
 Brahma yāmaḷa, 37  
 Brātya Śaiva, 89  
 Br̥hat Saṁhitā, 110  
 British Govt., 64  
 Buddha, 2, 16-17, 33, 58, 84, 168-70, 179-80, 182-83  
 Buddhism, 37  
 Buddhists, 19, 42  
 Euddha Gupta (k), 3  
 Bournouf, 16  
 Caitanya, 54, 138, 152, 169-70  
 Caitanya Caritāmṛta, 138, 157  
 Cakādolā (g), 112  
 Cakra, 10  
 Cakravarty M.M., 54, 59  
 Cakradhara Mādhava (g), 23  
 Cakṣūrmilana, 130  
 Cālukya (f), 40, 86  
 Campbell, 63  
 Candana Argalī, 148  
 Candana Varman (k), 6  
 Candana Yātrā, 136  
 Cānda Kavi, 61  
 Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 184  
 Candrāvalī, 164, 165  
 Candrikā, (q), 7  
 Car Festival, 87, 89, 93, 130-33  
 Caraṇa Sudhānidhi, 157  
 Caturdhāmūrti, 158  
 Cāteśvara (v), 42  
 Caurāśī (v), 39  
 Coḍagaṅga (k), 7, 31, 34-35, 40-41, 43-45, 57, 101, 120  
 Coḷas (f), 40  
 Cedis (f), 34-35, 42  
 Celitālo (t), 91  
 Ceylon (c), 4, 16, 32, 86  
 Chattiśā Niyoga, 44, 120-21, 223-24  
 Cherāpamhrā, 132  
 Chilika, 221  
 China (c), 16

- Cintapalli (t), 18  
 Citrotpalā (r), 9, 23  
 Cunningham, 16-17  
 Cuttack (d), 44, 101, 220  
  
 Dahivāmana (g), 107  
 Daitā, 82, 130, 137, 154  
 Daitāpati, 81, 93, 95, 138-39  
 Dakṣiṇa Koṣaḷa (c), 4, 7-10, 13, 17-18, 23, 30, 35  
 Dakṣiṇa Toṣaḷi (c), 22  
 Dānārṇava (k), 7  
 Daṇḍakabhukti, (d), 1  
 Daṇḍi (q), 22  
 Daṇḍi Mahādevi (q), 36  
 Dāneśvara (g), 9  
 Darahadācharya (k), 20  
 Dārṅkondā (t), 18  
 Dāru, 86, 89, 140, 145  
 Dāru Brahma (g), 24, 71, 82, 94  
 Das, Acyutānanda, 108, 159, 163-67, 169, 205  
 „ Baḷarāma, 158-69, 166-67  
 „ Chaitanya, 159  
 „ Candramaṇi, 158  
 „ Divākara, 158, 166  
 „ Dinakṛṣṇa, 88  
 „ Dvārakā, 158  
 „ Jagannātha, 82, 169  
 „ Kṛpāsindhu, 158  
 „ Nanda, 158  
 „ Nilakantha, 74, 88  
 „ Niḷāmbara, 81  
 „ Ratnākara, 158  
 „ Sārālā, 17, 78-79, 169  
 „ Śikhara, 158  
 „ Śiśukṛṣṇa, 82  
 „ Yasovanta, 157, 164, 167  
 Deva Dāsi, 108, 137, 153  
 Devakī, 81  
 Devendra Varman (k), 58  
 Devi Ratha, 135  
 Devi Sūktas, 151  
 (& Śrī „ )  
 Deula Tolā, 81, 82  
 Dey, S. K., 37  
 Dhavaleśvara Mahādeva (g), 105  
 Dharmā (q), 22  
 Dharma Cakra, 10  
  
 Dharma Kīrti, 6, 102  
 Dharmarāj (k), 20, 86  
 Dhūpa, 198  
 Dhūrma, 161  
 Dhyāni Buddhas, 160-61  
 Dīpti, (g), 150  
 Doḷa Yātrā, 136  
 Drākṣārāma (g), 43, 60  
 Dunduvi Vādyā, 147  
 Durgā (g), 13, 43, 47, 153, 162  
 Durgotsava Candrikā, 143  
 Dūti, 164  
 Dwārakā (p), 36, 94, 169  
 Dwārakānātha (g), 42, 105  
  
 Ekānāmśā (g), 47, 216-19  
 Ekāmra Kṣetra, 19  
 Ekāmra Maṭha, 152  
 Ekāmra Purāṇa, 152  
  
 Fahien, 16  
 Ferhera, 86  
 Firoze (o), 48  
 Fouchet Maxpot, 116  
  
 Gajānana Veśa, 129  
 Gālamādhava (k), 77, 82  
 Gandharādhi (v), 23, 152  
 Gaṇeśa (g), 18, 53, 153  
 Gaṇeśa Veśa, 129  
 Gaṅgas (f), 1, 2, 6, 11, 22, 23-25, 48, 56  
 Gaṅgādhara, 38  
 Gaṅgāmādhava (d), 18  
 Ganges (r), 34  
 Gaṅgeśvara (g), 107  
 Gaṅgeśvara (k), 33  
 Gaṅgāsāgara, 75  
 Ganguli, Manmohan, 73, 116  
 Ganjam (d), 1, 3  
 Garbhagṛha, 147-48  
 Garuḍa (g), 18  
 Garuḍa, 16, 162  
 Garuḍa Pillar, 148, 152, 154  
 Gauḍa (c), 39, 34, 42, 47, 152, 168  
 Gauḍiṇi Maṭha, 55. See Maṭhas  
 Giyāsudīn Iwaz, 43  
 Ghumsur (t), 4



- Gīta Govinda, 53, 55, 121, 149  
 Gīta Govinda Thākura (g), 55  
 Govinda III (k), 32  
 Govinda Bhanja, 158  
 Govinda Vidyādhara (k), 59  
 Govardhana Maṭha, 151-52  
 Godāvarī (r), 1, 4, 34, 54  
 Gokarṇasvāmī (g), 7  
 Gokarṇasvārā (g), 3, 8, 13, 25  
 Goloka, 162-64  
 Gondra (p), 25  
 Gopal Dev (k), 38  
 Gopālārcanā vidhi, 143, 152  
 Gopacandra (k), 19  
 Goswami, S. Damodar, 138  
 Grāma Devatā (g), 13  
 Gṛha Devatā (g), 13  
 Guhesvarapāṭaka (t), 21, 30  
 Guṇārṇava (k), 7  
 Gundicā, 81, 134  
 Gundicā Temple, 125, 133, 137-38  
 Gondrama (p), 13, 14  
 Gupta (f), 2-4, 87  
 Gurjara (c), 30
- Haibaya (f), 47  
 Haladhara, 36  
 Haṭi (g), 47  
 Hanumāna (g), 46, 109  
 Haṣṭavardhan (k), 3, 19  
 Haridāsa, 158  
 Hari-Hara, 157  
 Hariśaṅkara (g), 151  
 Havaragama (v), 5  
 Hastivarman (k), 8  
 Hastipadā (v), 23  
 Hātigumpha (cave), 2, 89  
 Hayaśirṣa Pañcatantra, 217  
 Hegel, 176  
 Hemakūta (h), 21  
 Himālayas (m), 42  
 Hindu Dharma, 91, 205  
 Hinduism, 153  
 Hirāpur (v), 38  
 Huentsang, 10  
 Hodopulm, 18
- Holing (c), 85  
 Homapujā, 143  
 Huentsang, 16, 19, 20, 91  
 Hunter A.D., 32
- Indrabhūti (k), 34, 57, 108, 168  
 Indravala (k), 8, 83  
 Indrāvati (r), 18  
 Indradyumna (k), 24, 31, 73, 76, 80, 82, 97, 143, 201  
 Indradyumna garb, 85  
 Indra Niṣamaṇi, 94  
 Inscriptions, 209
- Jaduvaṁśa (f), 94  
 Jagadīśa (g), 57  
 Jagannātha (g), 1, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 31, 34, 41, 42, 43, 47, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 71-74, 86, 89, 144, 145, 164, 165, 167, 168, 170, 171, 176-185, 205-207  
 Jagannāth (as a pilgrimage), 46  
 Jagannāth Temple, 88, 101, 123  
 Jagannāth Dharma, 93  
 Jagannāth Caritāmṛta, 158  
 Jagannāth Sataka, 152  
 Jagamohana, 101  
 Jagammandā (v), 6  
 Jaganeilo (d), 18  
 Jaganta (g), 18  
 Jain, 16, 17, 88, 93  
 Jajpur (t), 39, 153  
 Jajāṭikeśari (k), 200  
 Jajñagar (t), 43  
 Jñānasiddhi, 33  
 Jñānodaya Koili, 158  
 Jalaluddin (k), 49  
 Jārā Śavara, 18, 78  
 Jāvā (c), 12, 32, 85  
 Jayā (g), 150, 168  
 Jayadeva, 53, 55, 57  
 Jhulaṇa Yātrā, 135-36  
 Jerusalem (c), 16  
 Jivadevācārya, 56  
 Jonka (r), 17  
 Jvālā, 161
- Kaijās (h), 21

- Kailāśapura (v), 9  
 Kaivalya Mukti, 88  
 Kākāṭapur (v), 139  
 Kājā, 134  
 Kalabarga (c), 54  
 Kalacuris (f), 35  
 Kalāhāndī (d), 23  
 Kalāpāhāda (d), 61, 178, 220-22  
 Kālarūpa, 162-64  
 Kālikāpurāṇa, 14, 37  
 Kālīṅga (c), 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, 17-18, 22-23, 30, 32, 35, 40, 46, 74, 85, 156  
 Kālīṅga Jina, 89  
 Kalpa Baṭa, 93, 105, 151  
 Kalyaṇa Devī (q), 20  
 Kāmārṇava (k), 7, 8, 41  
 Kāmrūp (t), 43  
 Kanauj (c), 19  
 Kānci (c), 3J, 53, 75, 107  
 Kannu Pillai, 45  
 Kane, P.V., 71  
 Kansa, 183  
 Kant, 176  
 Kantilo (t), 18, 23  
 Kapiḷa Saṁhitā, 19, 78  
 Kapiḷendra Dev (k), 49  
 Karaṇa, 121  
 Kārji, 121  
 Karṇāṭa (c), 30, 54  
 Karṇasuvarṇa (c), 3, 19  
 Kāśyapa, 7  
 Kāśyapa Śilpa, 111  
 Kavira, 91, 108  
 Kavikarṇapura, 56  
 Kavi Narasingha, 57  
 Kavi Udayana, 57  
 Kāthopaniṣad, 182  
 Kauḷavali Tantra, 116  
 Keluraka (v), 12  
 Kenduli (v), 58  
 Keonjhar (d), 18  
 Kesodas Maru, 222  
 Khaṇḍagiri (h), 167  
 Khāraveja, 2, 89  
 Khingili Maṇḍal (v), 14  
 Khondas, 14  
 Khuntīā, Kanhai, 81  
 Kielhorn, 38  
 Kirti Varman (k), 37  
 Kitung (g), 18  
 Kling (p), 86  
 Koili Vaikunṭha, 58, 140  
 Konark, 47, 103, 153  
 Kanāsa (p), 14  
 Kongada (c), 1, 10, 17, 20  
 Kongada Maṇḍala (c), 3, 25, 38  
 Korāput (d), 6, 23, 101  
 Kośāla (c), 1, 17  
 Kramrisch Stella, 116  
 Kṛṣṇa (g), 4, 15, 47, 55, 150-51, 166, 168-69, 181-83  
 Kṛṣṇagiri (h), 25  
 Kṛṣṇadev Ray (k), 60  
 Kṛṣṇa Kalpataru, 38  
 Kuberī, 5  
 Kujang (t), 221  
 Kumārilla Bhaṭṭa, 6  
 Kumbhakarṇa, 168  
 Kurāla (p), 4  
 Kūrma Bedhā, 105  
 Kuśa, 15  
 Kuśāna (f), 87  
 Kṣetra Māhātmya, 78  
 Laḷita, 81, 82  
 Laḷita Vistara, 90  
 Lalita Mādhava (g), 18, 23  
 Laṅkā (t), 5  
 Lakṣmī (g), 107, 131, 136-37  
 Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, 107  
 Lakṣmaṇa, 183  
 Lakṣmaṇāvatī, 42  
 Lāmā Tārānāth, 84  
 Lassen, 16  
 Lāṭa (c), 30  
 Lava, 15  
 Lede Haridas, 207  
 Liṅgarāj (g), 21, 45, 153  
 Liṅgarāj (temple), 21, 31, 102-03, 151  
 Lokavigraha (k), 14  
 Lomasa, 7  
 Long, 16



- Lord Wellesley, 63
- Madhyamarāj (k), 10
- Madhavarāja (k), 10, 20
- Madhyabharata (c), 4
- Mādhava (g), 3, 6, 157
- Mādhava Gupta (k) 2, 3
- Mādhava Varman (k), 3, 23
- Madhukēśvara (g), 15
- Mādalāpāñji, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 43, 45, 57, 61, 62, 101
- Mādhava Panthī, 55
- Magadha (c), 2, 42
- Maga, (f), 24
- Mahābhārata, 1, 6, 7, 73, 74, 83, 146
- Mahāvāṁśa, 41
- Mahāvira, 2
- Mahākāntara (c), 4, 13
- Mahanta, 127, 156
- Mahākośa (c), 7, 23
- Mahāpuruṣa Pādmaṅga (g), 3
- Mahāśūdeva Rājā (k), 8
- Mahāśiva Gupta (k), 9, 17, 30, 31
- Mahāsiddhasavari, 17
- Mahājān Buddhists, 12, 17
- Mahā Vināyaka (g), 153
- Mahā Vedī, 77
- Mahā Prasāda, 92, 105, 199, 201, 202, 206
- Mahānadi (r), 1, 9, 17
- Mahāpātra, K.N., 34, 50
- Mahammadans, 42, 48
- Mahāśiva Tivardeva (k), 8, 17
- Mahendra (h), 4, 6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 22, 25, 101, 156
- Marhattas, 48, 63, 122
- Maitra Gupta (k), 17
- Maināk (h), 14
- Maihar (v), 35
- Majumdar R. C., 20, 41
- Mālava (c), 83
- Mālaya, 86
- Malada (v), 45
- Mañica Snāna, 96
- Maṇḍāra (c), 34
- Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad, 182, 184
- Mānsingha (k), 62, 122, 222
- Māṇiki Gaudīñi, 108
- Mañināga (g), 14, 15
- Mangalā (g), 139
- Mangalāratrika, 147
- Mañjuśree (g), 12
- Masāla, 154
- Māra Singha (k), 7
- Mātali, 134
- Maṭha, 124, 125, 127
- Mathurā, 169
- Māṭhara (f), 4, 6, 10, 13, 25
- Matsya Purāṇa, 74
- Mayūra Candrikā, 158
- Medināpur (t), 1, 19
- Meghanāda Pāceri, 103
- Meru (book), 151
- Mina-fa-Long (p), 86
- Mishra, Haladhara, 62, 136
- „ Vācaspati, 145
- „ Vināyaka, 36, 73
- „ Sadāśiva, 73
- Mitra, R. L., 34
- Moguls, 62, 122
- Mudgala Mādhava (g), 18
- Mukha Liṅgam (g), 15, 18, 40, 102, 151
- Muktesvar (Temple), 102
- Muktimanḍapa, 106, 124, 125, 207
- Mukti Cintāmaṇi, 78
- Mukundadeva (k), 50, 60
- „ II (k), 61, 64
- Muḷabera (d), 128
- Murugan (g), 5
- Murunda (f), 87
- Muslims, 42
- Mutta, 18
- Nabadvīpa, 169
- Nabagrha, 107
- Naba Kaḷevara, 93, 139-41, 154
- Naba Yauvana, 130
- Naciketā, 181
- Nagara Devatā (g), 13
- Nāgas (f), 5, 14, 38
- Nāga Vāṁśi (f), 23
- Nāgarī (v), 35, 183
- Nāga Cult, 157
- Nāgārjuna, 10, 17
- Nāgapur (t), 8

- Naiṣadha Carita, 128  
 Naja (f), 4, 8  
 Nālandā (t), 17  
 Nanda Prabhañjan Varman (k), 6  
 Nanda girinātha (g), 25  
 Nandighoṣa, 131, 132, 134  
 Nāda Vindu, 146  
 Nannadeva (k), 8  
 Nānak, 91  
 Nārada (g), 77, 78  
 Narendra Sarovara, 136  
 Narahari Tirtha, 46, 58, 157  
 Narasingha (g), 17, 106, 110, 153  
 Narasingha I (k), 47  
 „ II (k), 46, 57  
 Nārāyaṇa (g), 4, 8, 11, 13, 14, 25, 110, 156  
 Nāthiā, 158  
 Nāyaka, 121  
 Nāṭamaṇḍapa, 101  
 Narsan Pattam (t), 18  
 Nawab Alliverdi Khan (k), 63  
 Nāth, 42, 89  
 Nyāsa, 144  
 Neuḷapur (v), 36  
 Nepal (c), 16, 37  
 Netrotsava, 130  
 Neṭṭabhañja Dev (k), 39, 44  
 Niāli Mādhava (g), 18, 23, 81, 82, 97, 113  
 Niḷācala, 7, 21, 101  
 Niḷakandara (h), 24  
 Niḷakaṇṭheśvara (g), 101  
 Niḷādrimahodaya, 75, 78, 111, 143, 146  
 Niḷādrinātha Pūjavidhi, 143  
 Niḷādrī Paṇḍā, 143  
 Niḷagiri (h), 21, 25, 75, 83  
 Niḷamādhava (g), 10, 18, 22, 76, 77, 81, 82, 97, 107  
 Niḷasundara Gītā, 158  
 Nimbārk, 55  
 Nipāñiā Mādhava (g), 23  
 Nirākāra, 146  
 Nirguṇa Brahma, 158, 159  
 Nirmālya, 199, 200  
 Nisāṅka Bhānu IV (k), 48  
 Nitya Rāsa, 159  
 Niyoga, 121, 123  
 Nārada, 150  
 Odradeśa (c), 35, 76  
 Odra Viṣaya (t), 1  
 Olasing Plate, 14  
 Orissa, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 14-25, 32, 35, 39-57, 85, 153  
 Padmāvati (q), 53, 57  
 Pallava Malla (k), 8  
 Paṇḍās (f), 7, 16, 44, 107  
 „ Bada (f), 121, 124  
 Pāṇḍava, 6, 182  
 Pabandī, 96, 129, 132  
 Pañcaḍevatā (g), 52, 59  
 Pañcakoṣa, 117  
 Pañcarātrins, 145, 152, 185  
 Pañcarātra Āgama, 136  
 Pañcatantra, 144  
 Pañca Sakhā, 54, 108, 157, 159  
 Pañca Makāra, 152-53, 168  
 Pāṇḍuvamśī (f), 9, 17, 23  
 Paṇḍuvāsudeva (f), 5  
 Pāṇigrāhi K. C., 32, 39  
 Parama Mahēśvara, 22  
 Parama Saugata, 22  
 Parama Tathāgata, 22  
 Parama Vaiṣṇava, 22  
 Paramārdi Deva (k), 42, 47, 53  
 Parivrājakas, 4  
 Parce Gītā, 158  
 Pārāskara Guhya Sūtra, 116  
 Parsurāma Kalpa Sūtra, 146  
 Parichā, 124  
 Patnā (t), 16  
 Pātāleśvara (g), 107  
 Patimahaparta, 140  
 Peḍa, 18  
 Pegu (c), 85  
 Peterson, 183, 184  
 Pilgrim Tax, 64  
 Plato, 177  
 Praṇava, 72, 144-46, 150, 151, 181, 183-84  
 Prabodha Candrodāya, 37  
 Pradyumna (g), 183  
 Prapañca Sāra Sangraha, 149, 159  
 Prabhañjana Verman (k), 6  
 Pravaraṣena (k), 3  
 Pratibhāri, 120  
 Pratiṣṭhāna, 4



- Prāgyotiṣa (c), 9  
 Pratāp Ray, 169  
 Pratāprudradev (k), 52, 54, 56, 122  
 Premabhakti Brahma Gitā, 164  
 Premarasa Candrikā, 158  
 Princep, 16  
 Frome (c), 85  
 Puri (t), 1, 7, 16, 23, 41-43, 86, 88, 123, 152-53  
 Puruṣottama (g), 2, 10, 15, 17, 21, 25, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39-41, 71, 73, 78, 171, 176  
 Puruṣottama Candrikā, 78  
 Puruṣottama Dhāma, 42, 78  
 Puruṣottama Kṣetra, 37, 60, 74, 87, 101, 134  
 Puruṣottama Jagannātha (g), 13, 24, 43, 44, 48, 87, 169, 206  
 Puruṣottama Narasingha (g), 23  
 Puruṣottama deva (k), 52, 56, 107, 143, 152  
 Puruṣottama Tatva, 78  
 Puruṣottama Tāpinī, 78  
 Puradev (g), 5  
 Pulindas, 4, 5, 11  
 Pulinda Sena, (k), 9, 10  
 Pulinda rāj (f), 22  
 Purāṇas, Agni, 75, 116  
 " Barāha, 92  
 " Bhaviṣya, 92, 110  
 " Brahma, 75, 76  
 " Brahma Vaivarta, 92  
 " Garuḍa, 92  
 " Viṣṇu, 74, 92  
 " Viṣṇu Dharmottara, 110, 143  
 " Viṣṇu Garbha, 159  
 " Mārkaṇḍeya, 86  
 " Nārada, 75, 76  
 " Padma, 75, 78, 92  
 " Skanda, 75, 78, 146, 217  
 " Sūrya, 132  
 Puṣyabhūti (f), 8  
 Puṣyābhīṣeka, 135  
 Puṣkari (t), 8  
 Quliquṭb Saha, 59  
 Rāvaṇa, 168  
 Rāḍha (c), 30, 42  
 Rādhā (g), 55, 162-66  
 Rāghav Deva (k), 56  
 Raghunandan, 72  
 Raghuji Bhonsalā, 63  
 Rai Rāmānanda, 55  
 Rajim (t), 8, 9, 16  
 Rajjhana (t), 16  
 Rājiv Locana (g), 9, 16  
 Rājeśvara (g), 9, 71, 72  
 Rājguru S. N., 34, 44, 59  
 Rājmahendry (t), 53  
 Rājā Mānsingh (k), 61  
 Raju, 18  
 Raj Raj I (k), 31  
 Raj Raj III (k), 42  
 Raj Raj Deva (k), 35  
 Raktavāhu, 31, 32  
 Rāma, 15, 18, 107, 164, 166, 170  
 Rāmcandra (k), 17  
 Rāmacandra Bhanj (k), 221  
 Rāma Candra Dev (k), 61, 62, 122, 178, 221  
 Rāmāī Routray, 221  
 Rāmāyaṇa, 73  
 Rāmaratna, 164  
 Rāmānuja, 40, 56, 144, 152, 157  
 Rāmānuja Panthi, 55  
 Rāmanātha, 42  
 Rambhā (v), 36  
 Rāmeśvara, 105  
 Rāmeśvaram, 52  
 Rangoon (c), 85  
 Rāṇipur Jharial (v), 38  
 Ranga Devi, 162  
 Ranpur (t), 14  
 Rāsa, 162, 163  
 Rasambha (v), 36  
 Rāṣṭra devatā (g), 11, 13, 38, 43  
 Rāṣṭrakūṣa (f), 32  
 R. Subramanyam, 51, 54  
 Ratha Yātrā, 82, 103-35, 207  
 Ratnāvalī, 163, 164  
 Ratnavedī, 74, 109, 129, 148, 154, 171, 159, 206  
 Rantagriba, 75  
 Ratnapur (t), 5, 34  
 Ratnarekhā, 162  
 Ratnasīmhasana, 62, 153  
 Ray N. R., 85  
 Remuṇā (t), 15  
 Revatī, 164  
 Rgveda, 71, 72

- Rohiṇī, 81  
 Rohiṇikundā, 80, 83  
 Rudra (g), 153  
 Rudrāṇī (g), 150  
 Rudrayāmaḷa, 78  
 Rukmiṇī, 162  
 Rukmṇī Harāṇa, 125, 139  
 Rung Jung, 18  
  
 Śavara (f), 4, 5, 9, 11, 14-18, 24, 76-79, 87, 93, 97, 146, 154  
 Śavarāditya (k), 8, 9  
 Śavari Mādhav (g), 18  
 Śavari Nārāyaṇa (g), 9, 11, 16-17, 23, 79  
 Śavaripur (t), 17  
 Sāhitya Darpaṇa, 48  
 Sahadeva, 83  
 Śaiva, 47, 158  
 Śaivites, 16, 151  
 Śaivism, 17  
 Śailodbhava (f), 3, 7, 9-13, 15, 20, 22-25  
 Śākas, (f), 87  
 Śākhigopāḷa (g), 53, 107  
 Śākta, 16, 47, 151, 153  
 Śaktivarman (k), 4  
 Salbeg, 207  
 Salva Narasiṃha (k), 53  
 Śāḷagrāma (g), 91  
 Śāḷgrām (v), 37  
 Sambalpur (d), 23  
 Samudragupta (k), 2, 4, 13  
 Sanātanadharma, 92  
 Śaṅkaracārya, 8, 39, 151-52, 157  
 Śaṅkha Kṣetra, 101  
 Śaṅkarṣaṇa (g), 193  
 Śāṅkhyakārikā, 89  
 Śāṅkhyā Yoga, 88  
 Śānti Parva, 74  
 Śāntipura (t), 16  
 Saptāvarṇa Pīṭha, 78  
 Sarabhapura (v), 18  
 Sarabhapuriyānas (f), 7, 10  
 Sarvalokaikanātha (g), 41  
 Sarva Maṅgalā (g), 105  
 Sarvatomukhī (g), 150  
 Sārādā Tīḷaka, 151  
 Sarapa Paleam (v), 18  
 Sarasvatī S. K., 116  
 Śārasvata Gītā, 158  
 Śasāṅka (k), 3, 19, 20  
 Saātāsī Hazāri Mahāl, 65  
 Śatānanda, 38  
 Satvata (f), 94  
 Śatapattha Brāhmaṇa, 83, 130  
 Satyabhāmā (q), 105  
 Satya Nārāyaṇa (g), 105  
 Śatrubhaṇḍja (k), 39  
 Śatrughna, 75  
 Saubhāgya Mañjuṣā, 78  
 Sāyanācārya, 71, 72, 85, 206  
 Scythian, 32  
 Śevakas, 120, 123  
 Se-Li-cha-talu, 86  
 Servus Servorum, 170  
 Śeṣa (g), 15  
 Sewell, 59  
 Siam (c), 86  
 Śiva (g), 16, 43, 109  
 Sidhānta Dambaru, 158  
 Si-ku-ki, 85  
 Siṁhavāhu (k), 4  
 Siṁhaḷa (c), 5  
 Siṁhapur (c), 4  
 Sircar D. C., 35  
 Siripur (t), 8, 16, 17, 23  
 Śiśupāḷa (k), 46, 139, 179  
 Sītā, 107  
 Sītābīṇḍji (v), 15  
 Skanda Varman (k), 8  
 Skanda Purāṇa, 73, 74, 75, 78, 144  
 Smith V. S., 83  
 Snānavedī, 128-29  
 Snāna yātrā, 128-29, 136, 153  
 Śobhana deva (k), 32  
 Śobhaneśvara (g), 57  
 Somavāṁśī (f), 1, 23, 30, 32  
 Somapā (t), 1  
 Someśvara temple, 102, 151  
 Somadatta (k), 19  
 Sonepur (t), 23  
 Spinoza, 177  
 Śrāvastī (t), 23  
 Śramaṇas, 2, 19



- Śrī Devi (g), 78  
 Śrī Harṣa, 128  
 Śrīkākuḷam (d), 5, 58  
 Śrīkr̥ṣṇa (g), 83, 171, 177-78  
 Śrīkṣetra, 31, 38, 44, 85, 101  
 Śrīkūrmakṣetra, 46, 47  
 Śrī Ranga Temple, 103  
 Stambheśvari (g), 13-15, 39  
 Sterling A. S., 32  
 Sūra (Mahā), 82, 199  
 Subhadra (g), 15, 39, 44, 47, 72, 81, 144-46, 151, 161-63, 167-70, 177, 180, 183-84  
 Śubhākara (k), 22, 39  
 Śubhākara Dev (k), 21  
 Śubhākara II (k), 22  
 Śubakirti (k), 19  
 Suvarṇapur (t), 23  
 Suvarṇarekhā (r), 15, 19  
 Suvarṇapura (t), 23  
 Sudarśana (g), 72, 144-46, 151, 168, 171, 179-80  
 184  
 Sudarśana Gītā, 158  
 Śūdras (f), 154  
 Sugriva, 73  
 Sūkṣmā (g), 150  
 Sulaiman Karani, 221  
 Sulkis (f), 14  
 Sultan Hussain Shah, 220  
 Sumanadala (v), 86  
 Śūnya, 158-59, 162, 164  
 Śūnya Pūruṣa, 159-61, 164-65  
 Śūnya Saṁhitā, 108, 159, 162, 165  
 Sūrya, 153  
 Sūryamandira, 107  
 Sūryamaṇi Paṭṭa Mahādevī, (q), 65  
 Sūrya Nārāyaṇa (g), 86, 153  
 Sūrya Vah̥sī (f), 121, 209  
 Svargadvāra, 83  
 Svarṇādri (h), 21  
 Svarṇagiri (h), 21  
 Svarṇakūṭa (h), 21  
 Svayambhū (g), 7, 11, 14-16, 25  
 Svetaka (f), 3  
 Svetaka Gaṅgas (f), 25  
 Swami Kannupillai, 61  
 Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 43, 47  
 Taittiriya Saṁhitā, 73  
 Takkari (v), 23  
 Tāladhvaja, 131-32, 135  
 Tante (t), 85  
 Tantra Yāna, 20  
 Tantrarāja Tantra, 116  
 Tāntra Yāmaḷa, 78  
 Taradāmsaka (v), 9  
 Tārānāth, 17  
 Tathāgatas, 160  
 Tel (r), 4  
 Telengāmukunda Dev (k), 60  
 Telingānā, 48  
 Teracho Mahāpātra, 149  
 Terasinga (v), 13  
 Tirtha Cintāmaṇi, 78, 145  
 Tirthaṅkaras, 16, 89  
 Tirumurugarrupadai (b), 5  
 Tita, 18  
 Tivaradev (k), 8, 9, 22  
 Todarmall, 221  
 Tomli (c), 1, 23, 25, 30, 35  
 Travancore (t), 93  
 Trivikrama (g), 114  
 Tri Bhuvana Mahādevī (q), 22, 39  
 Trihat (d), 43  
 Tripurā, 162-64  
 Tri Ratna, 90  
 Tughril-i-Tugham Khan (k), 47  
 Tuḷsi, 162-63  
 Tumernna, 18  
 Tūriya, 146  
 Tustikāra (k), 13-14  
 Udayana (k), 8  
 Uddhava, 150  
 Uddiyāna, 34, 168  
 Ulugh Khan, 48  
 Umāpati (g), 57  
 Upacāras, 147-49  
 Upaniṣad, 72, 133, 145  
 „ Chāndogya, 83, 184  
 „ Kāṭha, 182  
 „ Kaivalya, 72  
 „ Māndūkya, 182, 184  
 „ Śvetāśvetara, 73  
 Ūrma, 161

- Utkacha Nṛtya, 153  
 Utkal, 1, 2, 30, 37, 42, 77, 85, 93  
 Utkalpa, 85  
 Uṣā, 86  
 Uttara Toṣṭi, 22  
 Utyota Keśari (k), 36  
  
 Vaidyanāth (g), 22  
 Vaikhānasagāma, 111, 116, 136  
 Vaiṣṇavas (s), 16, 47, 55, 57-58, 121-22, 150  
 Vaiṣṇavi (g), 150  
 Vaiṣṇavism, 2, 17, 157-58  
 Vaitāla temple, 39  
 Vaitaraṇi (r), 1, 6, 23  
 Vajrahasta (k), 7, 58  
 Vajrasattva, 159  
 Vajra Yāna, 20, 34, 158, 168  
 Vākāṭaka (f), 3  
 Vallabhācārya, 55  
 Vālmiki, 73  
 Vāmana (g), 9, 110-114  
 Vamśadhārā (r), 58  
 Vārāṇasī (t), 101  
 Vārāṇasī Kataka (t), 35  
 Varāha (g), 9, 110, 114, 167  
 Vārāhi (g), 39  
 Varāha Mihira, 182  
 Varāha Varttarnī (d), 7  
 Vasantotsava, 136  
 Vasantotsava Kāvya, 136  
 Vāseṣi (g), 167  
 Vāsudeva (g), 3, 94, 183  
 Vāsudeva Sārva Bhūma, 54  
 Vāsu Sabara, 83  
 Vengi (c), 4, 7, 34  
 Vesas (Dresses), 141  
 Vibhisāṇa, 73  
  
 Vidyā Nagara (t), 52  
 Vidyāpati, 24, 76-77, 81, 97, 139  
 Vija Mantra, 144  
 Vijay, 5, 38, 168  
 Vilvamaṅgaḷa, 58  
 Vimalā (g), 74, 107, 125, 150, 153  
 Vindu, 161-62, 164  
 Virakiśore Deva (k), 62  
 Virajā (g), 21, 39, 153, 167  
 Virajā Kṣetra, 23, 30  
 Virajā Nagara (t), 21  
 Virāṭa Gītā, 159, 161-62  
 Viṣṇu (g), 2, 12, 42, 43, 46, 90, 149  
 Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa, 73  
 Viṣṇukundins, (f) 7  
 Viṣṇu Saṁhitā, 111  
 Viśvakarmā, 84, 94  
 Viśvāmitra, 84  
 Viśvāvasu, 24, 76, 81, 84, 86, 91, 97  
 Vizagapatam (d), 1  
 Vṛndāvan (t), 151  
 Vyūhas, 145  
  
 Wadell L. A., 85  
 Wilkins, 25  
 Wood-worship, 145  
  
 Yakkhiṇi Kuberī, 5  
 Yameśvara (g), 80  
 Yavan, 32  
 Yayāti I (k), 32-33, 84  
 Yayāti II (k), 32, 41, 44  
 Yayāti Keśari (k), 23, 30-31, 101  
 Yudhiṣṭhir (k), 7  
 Yoga, 184  
 Yoga Mārga, 161, 65  
 Yoga Piṭha, 149

74042









The temple of Mahendra Giri, Ganjam  
an insignia of earliest architecture.

*Plate No. 1*

Kunti temple in Mahendra Giri.

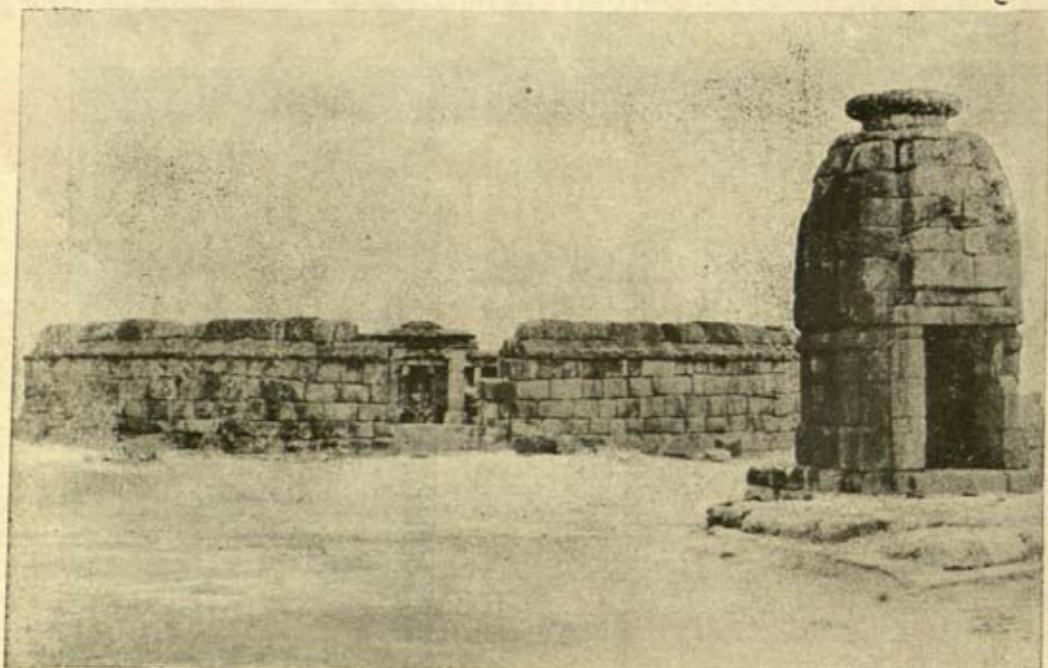
*Plate No. 2*







The sixtyfour Yogini temple at Ranipur, Jharia, Bolangir.  
*Plate No. 3*



A view of the Yogini temple.  
*Plate No. 4*



The three icons in a bullock cart, believed to be the three Deities of the Jagannatha temple, preserved in the State Museum, Orissa.

*Plate No. 5*



The famous Ananta Vasudev Temple of Bhubaneswar.

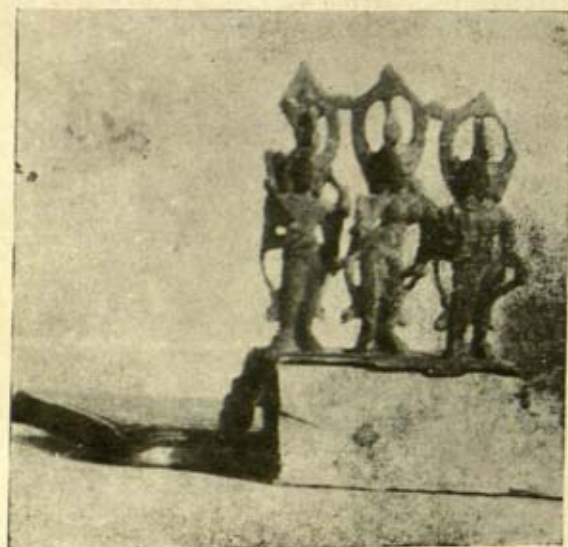
*Plate No. 6*





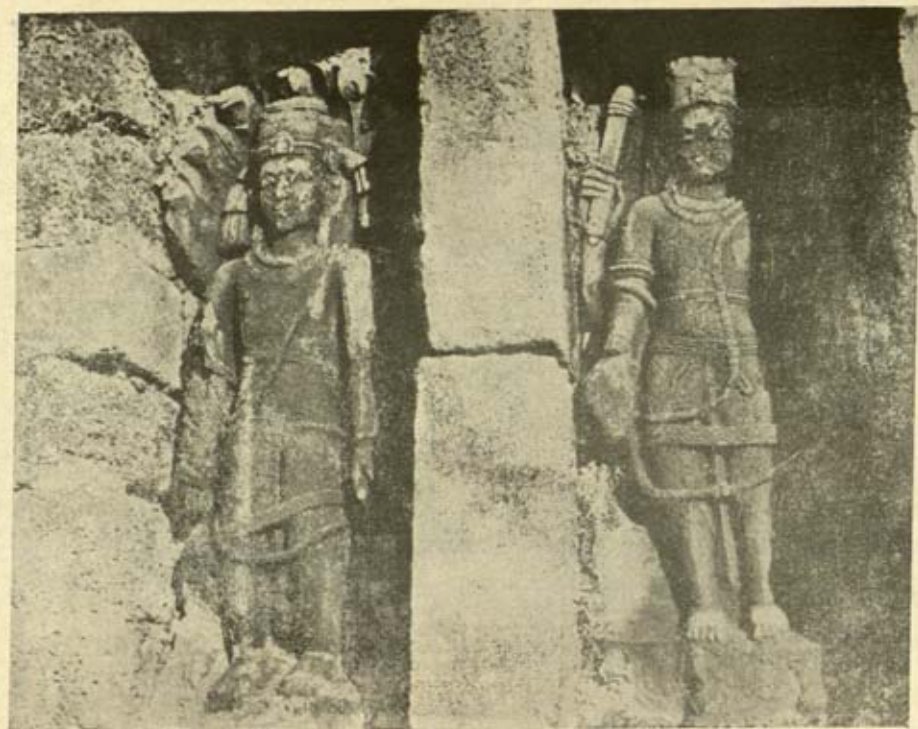
The three images of Ekanamsa, Ananta and Vasudeva  
in the Lingaraj temple compound.

*Plate No. 7*



Images of Krishna, Balarama,  
Ekanamsa in bronze.

*Plate No. 8*



Images of Ananta and Vasudeva on the inner walls of Bindusagara Tank.  
*Plate No. 9*



Vishnu, Durga and  
Siva in the Sun  
Temple at Konarak.

*Plate No. 10*





Jagannatha and Balarama on horse back proceeding towards Kanchi.

*Plate No. 11*



The image of Vishnu-Krishna  
in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar

*Plate No. 12*



# MAP OF SHREE PURUSOTTAMA KSHETRA (PURI)

SANKHA KSHETRA VARANALĀ OR RIVER

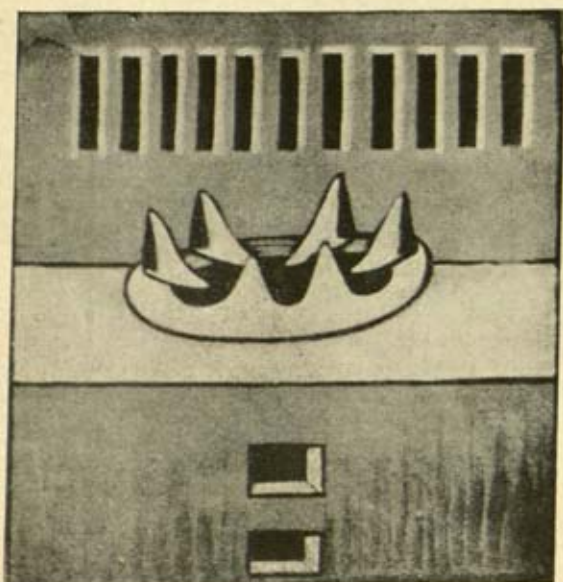
- 1-MAHĀLAKSHMI 2-BĪMALĀ 3-VATANANGALĀ
- 4-DAKSHINAKALĪ 5-CHAMUNDĀ 6-GHĀTAMANGALĀ
- 7-ĀLANBA 8-ARDHASHANĪ 9-ISHANĒSVAR
- 10-BĀTESVAR 11-KSHETRAPALĀ 12-KĀPALMOCHAN
- 13-JAMĒSVAR 14-LOKĀNĀTHĀ 15-NĪLAKANTHĀ
- 16-BĪLVEŚVAR 17-SHREEMANDIR 18-ROHINIKUNDA
- 19-KĀLPĀVATĀ 20-SHWETAGANGĀ 21-SVARGĀDVAR
- 22-TĀNK NARENDRA 23-MĀRKENDEYA
- 24-TĀNK MĀRKENDEYA 25-TĀNK
- 26-CHAKRATĪRTHA 27-MĀRICHĪKĀ
- 28-CHAKRATĪRTHA 29-MAHĀVĪR OP.
- SEA (DARĪĀ MAHĀVĪR)

VARGAVI

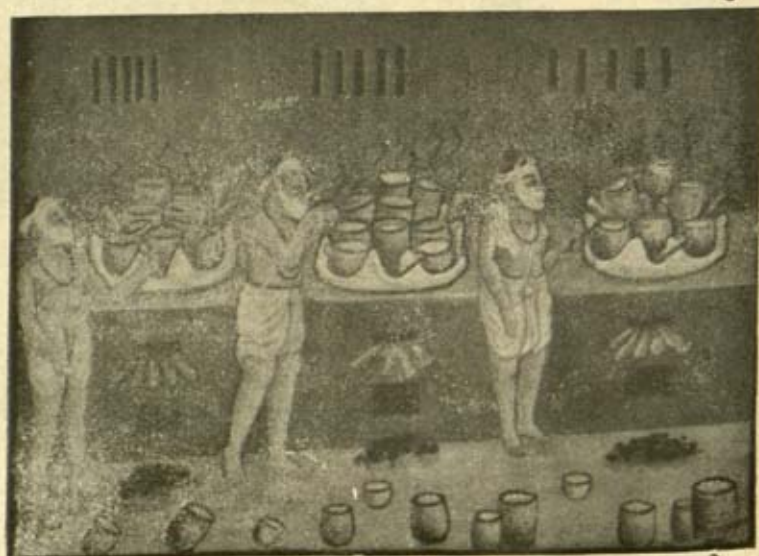
SEA

TĪRTHARĀJA MAHĀDADHĪ

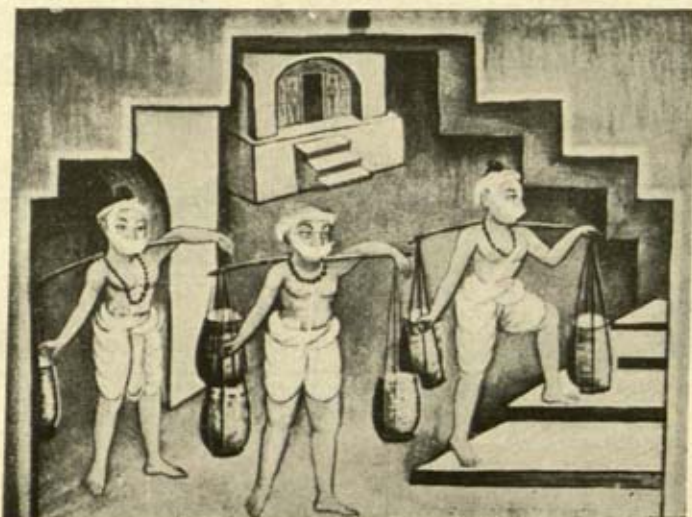




The kitchen of Lord Jagannatha.  
*Plate No. 15*



The cooking scene of the Bhoga  
inside the kitchen.  
(An artistic representation)  
*Plate No. 16*



The Bhoga being carried for the offering to the Deities.

*Plate No. 17*



Dasa-Avatara (Ten incarnations) on the inner walls of Nāta-mandira.  
(Here Buddha is identified as Lord Jagannāth)

*Plate No. 18*



Paintings of ten-incarnations on a palm-leaf.

*Plate No. 19*





Paintings of Chariots & Gods from palm-leaf pothis.

*Plate No. 19A*



Paintings of Chariots & Gods from palm-leaf pothis.

*Plate No. 19B*



Brahmā with folded hands on the right hand side of the southern doorway of the Jagamohan and Sāvitri on his left.

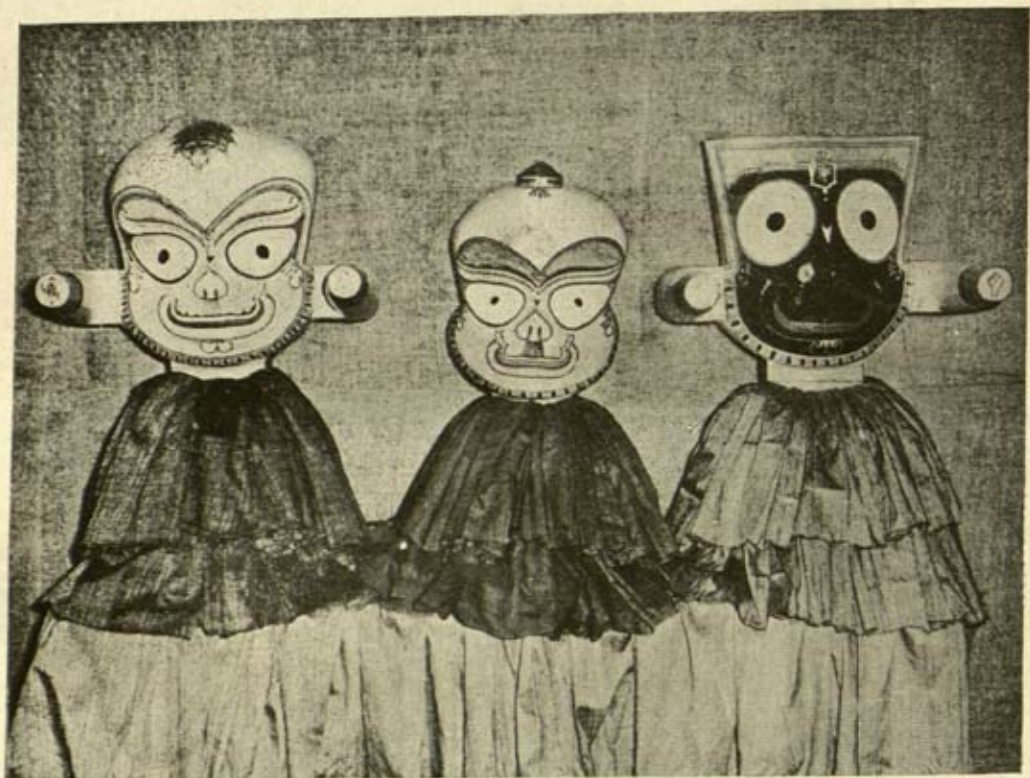
*Plate No. 20*



Śiva and Pārvatī in humble prayer on the left hand side  
of the southern door-way of Jagamohan.

*Plate No. 21*





The three Deities of Puri.  
*Plate No. 21A*



Goddess Bimalā inside the temple premises.  
*Plate No. 22*



Goddess Bhubaneśwari.  
*Plate No. 23*



Goddess Lakṣmī.  
*Plate No. 24*



Nila Mādhav image of Puri Temple,  
*Plate No. 25*

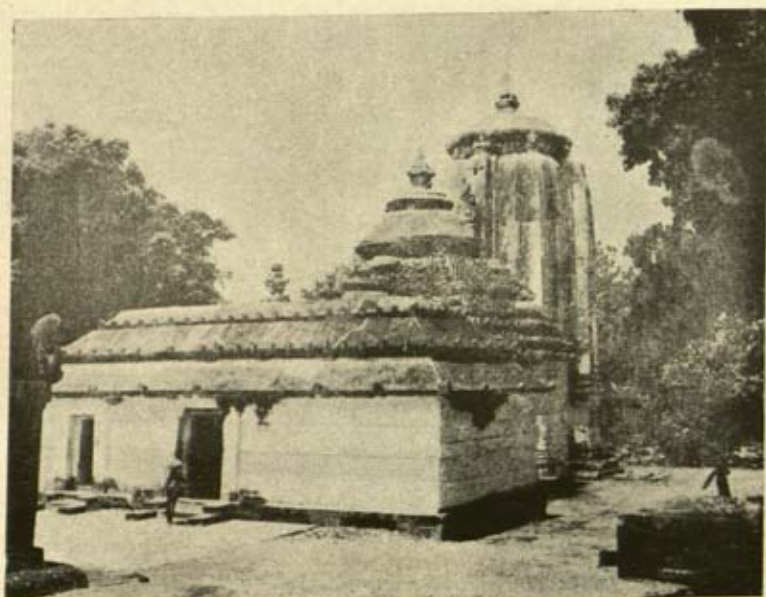


Nila Mādhav image in Gandharadi, Bouda.  
*Plate No. 26*

Lalita Mādhav image in Sovaneśwar temple  
in the District of Puri.  
*Plate No. 27*







Alvarnāth temple at Brahmagiri, Puri.  
*Plate No. 28*



Janārdan Nārāyana inside the Alvarnāth  
temple, Brahmagiri.  
*Plate No. 29*



Nila Mādhav temple at Kantilo, Puri.  
*Plate No. 29A*



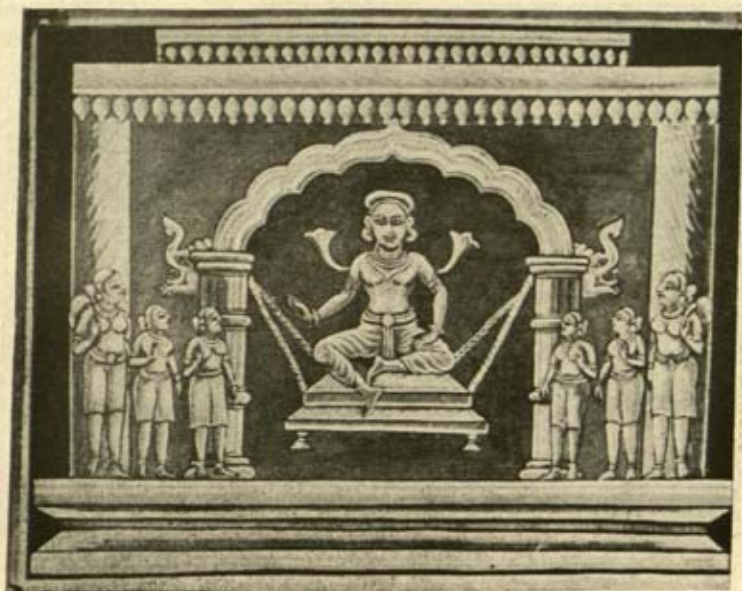
Vāmana-Tribikrama, Parśvadevatā  
 inside the Puri Temple.  
*Plate No. 30*



Nṛsingha, Pārśva-devatā in Puri Temple.  
*Plate No. 31*



Varāha Pārśva-devatā in Puri Temple.  
*Plate No. 32*



The Rājā of Puri on swing, carved on  
the wall of Bhogamandapa.

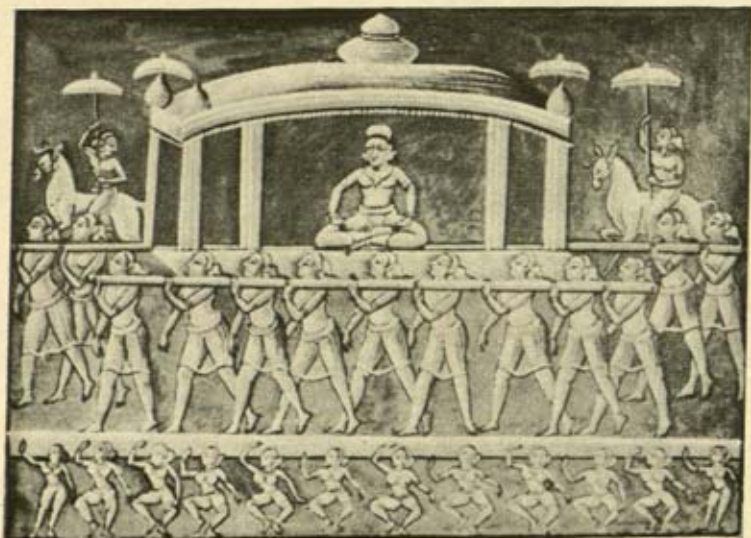
*Plate No. 33*



The Rājā and his attendants preparing for rowing festival.

*Plate No. 34*





The Rājā inside the palanquin on the eve of Nandotsava.  
*Plate No. 35*



Durgā, Jagannātha and Śiva Linga on Bhogamandapa.  
*Plate No. 36*



Śankarācārya in Gobardhan Math, Puri  
*Plate No. 37*



Arcā images who represent the main Deities  
in out-door festivals.

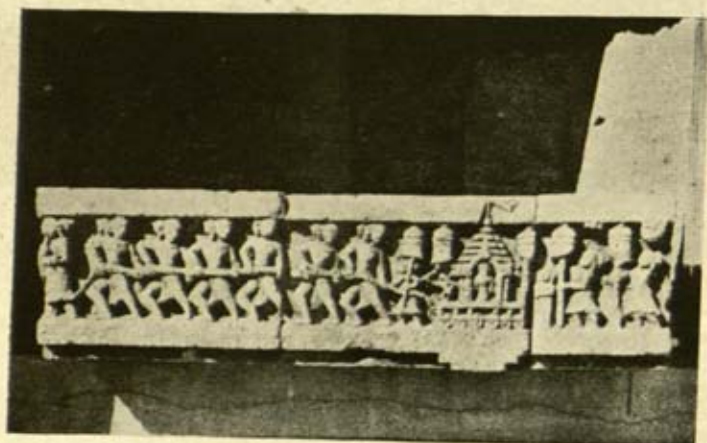
*Plate No. 38*





Three chariots standing in a row.

*Plate No. 39*



Rathayātrā scene in the pedestal of an old temple found near the Dhanmandal Rly. Station in the district of Cuttack.

*Plate No. 39A*



Pahandi—Vijoy,  
*Plate No. 40*





Rājā of Puri sweeps the platform of the cars  
during the Car-Festival known as Cherāpanharā.

*Plate No. 41*



Car being drawn by the people.  
*Plate No. 42*



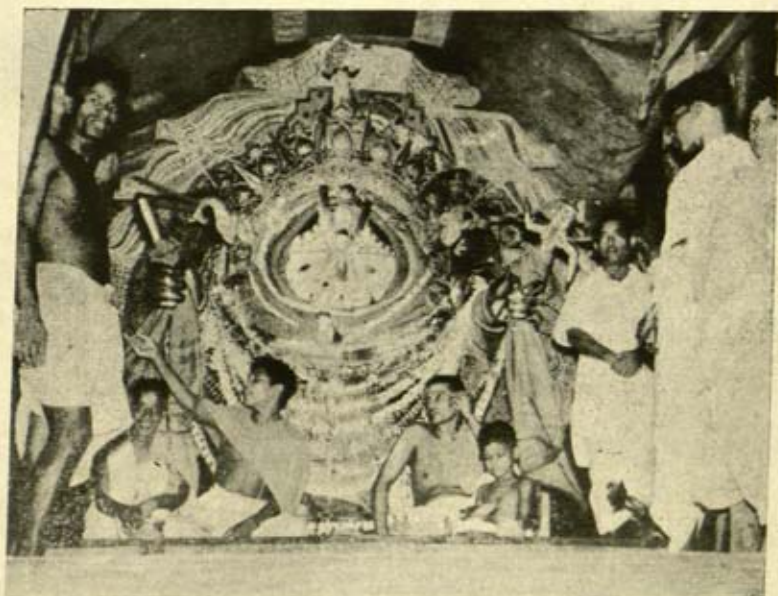


Gateway of the Gundicā Mandir.  
*Plate No. 43*



Jagannātha dressed in golden ornaments (Sunā-veśa)

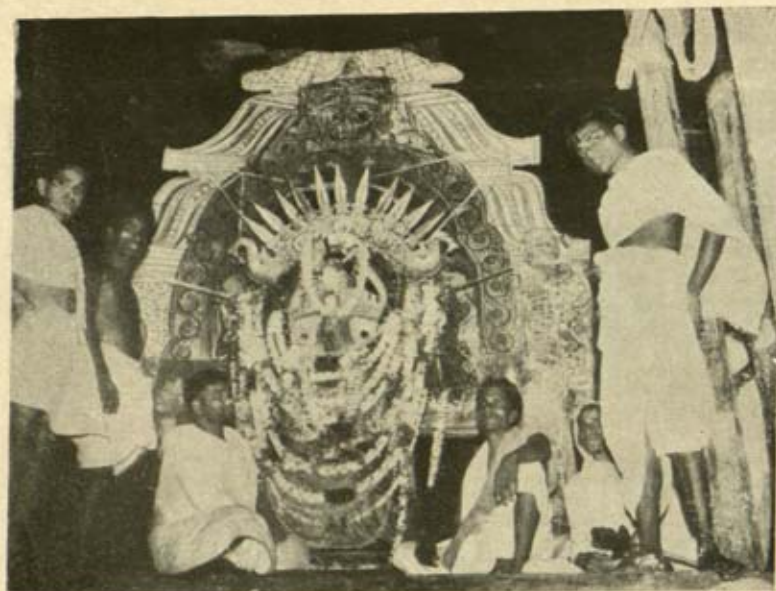
*Plate No. 44*



Balabhadra dressed in golden ornaments (Sunā-veśa)

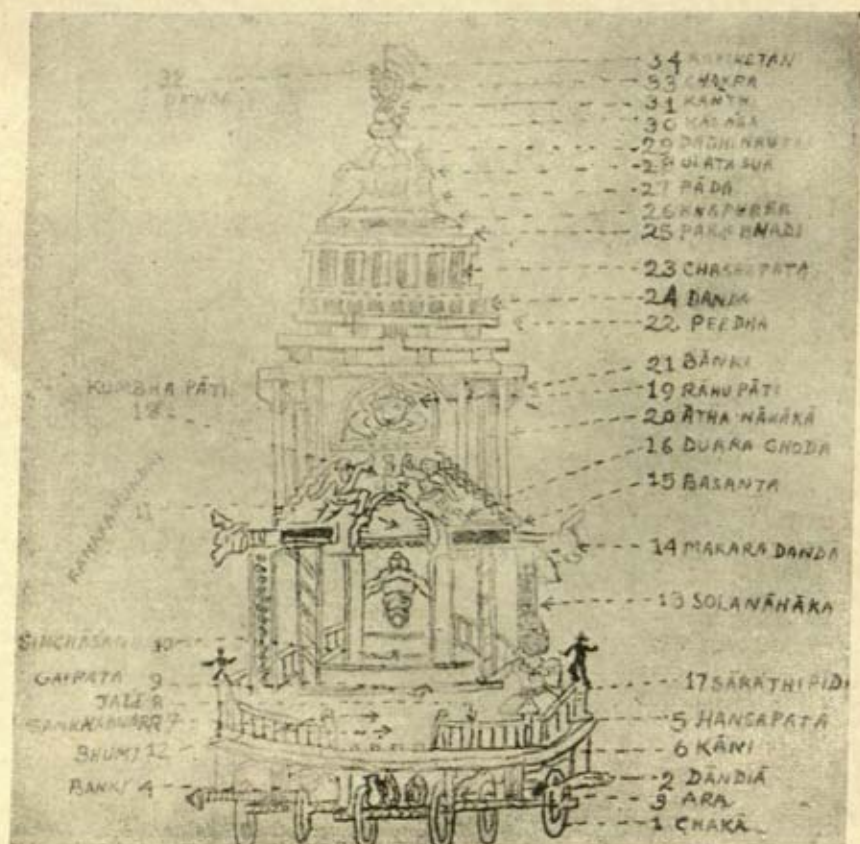
*Plate No. 45*





Subhadrā dressed in golden ornaments (Sunā-veśa)

Plate No. 46



Impression of the Car

Plate No. 47



Dola-vedi  
Plate No. 47A

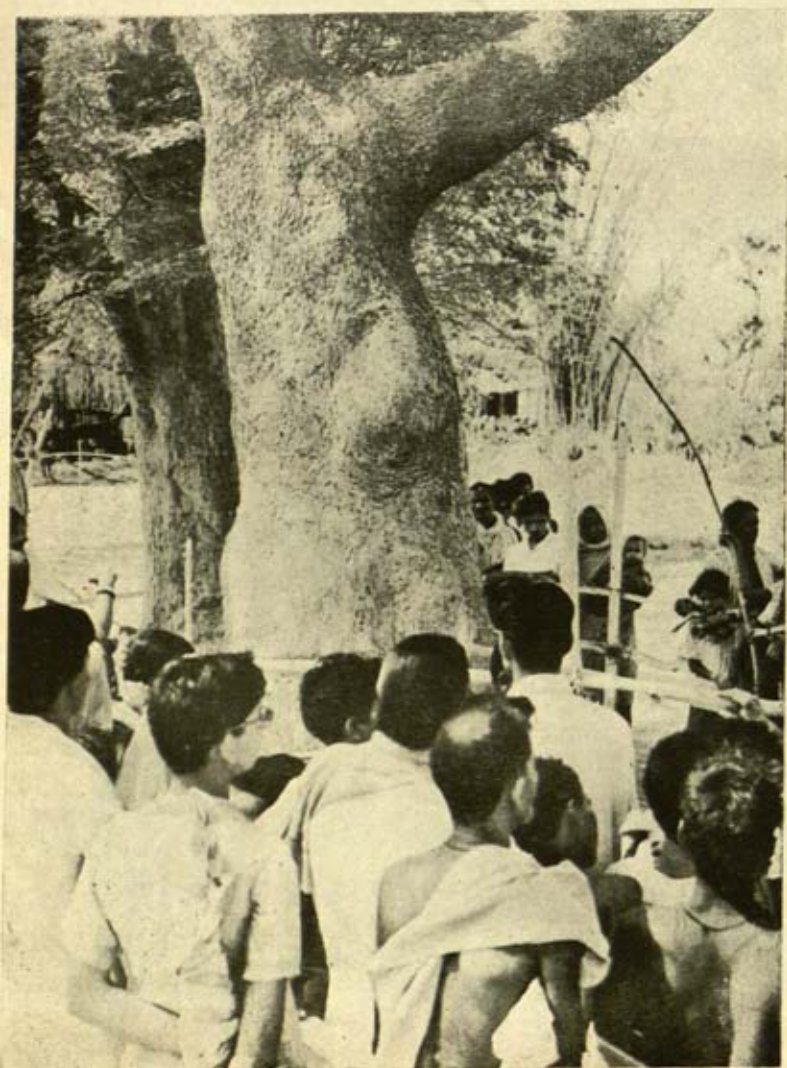
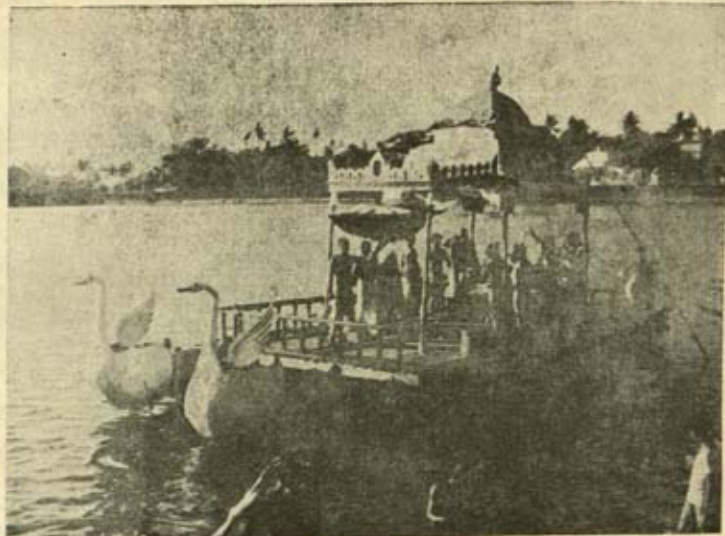


Candan-Jātrā  
Plate No. 48



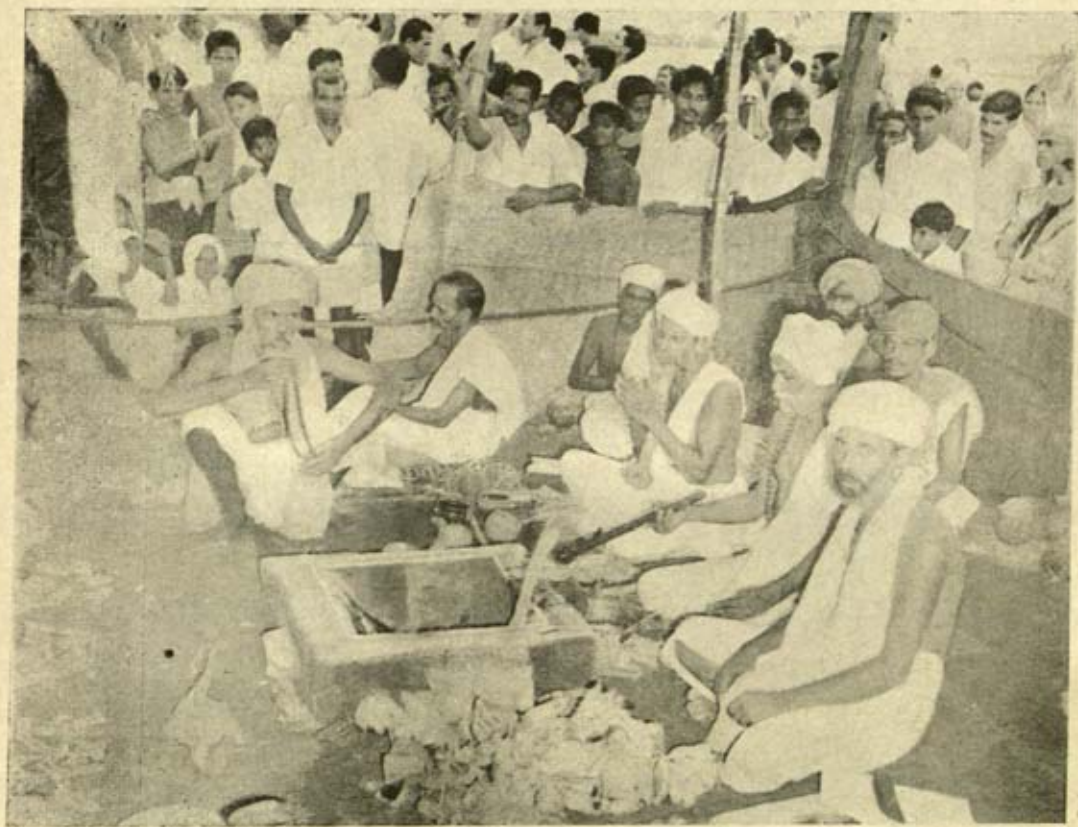
Boat moving in Nareन्द्रa sarobara  
during Candan Jātrā.

*Plate No. 48A*



Nimba tree spotted out for Navakalevara.

*Plate No. 49*

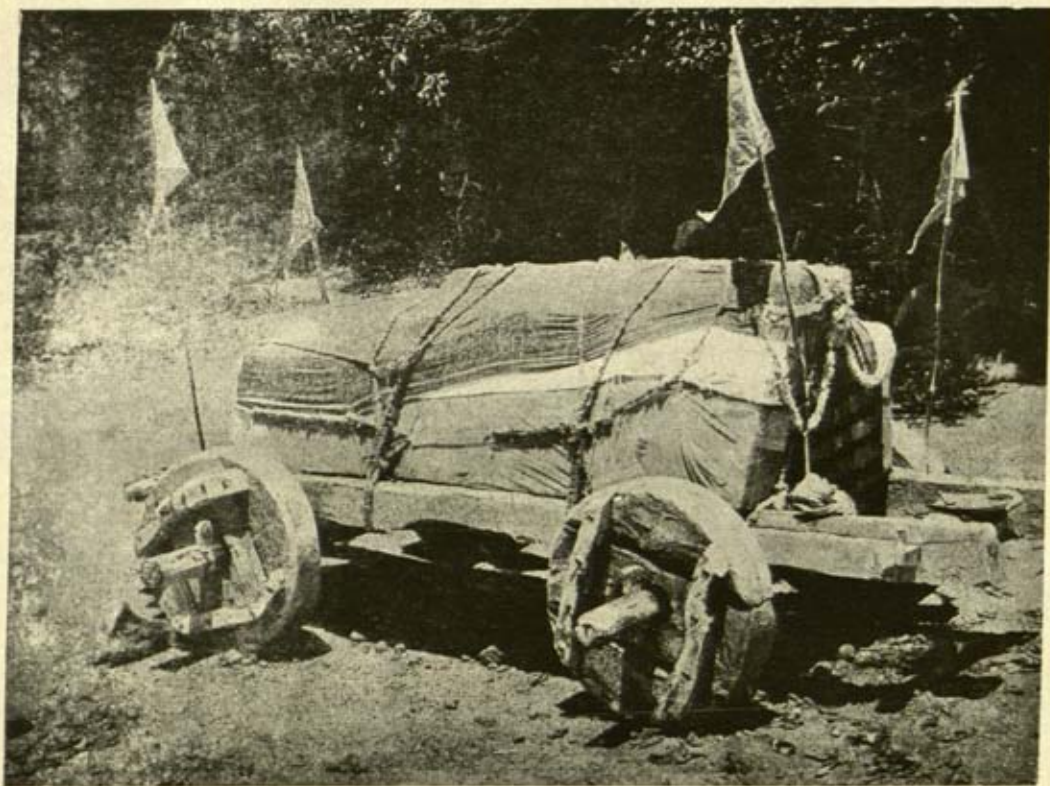


Vana-Yāga Ceremony performed near the spotted tree.  
*Plate No. 50*





The Sacred log (Dāru) being cut by the carpenters.



The sacred Dāru on a four wheeled cart.  
*Plate No. 52*





The Sacred Dāru being taken in procession.

Plate No. 53



Gajoddhārāṇa-Veśa.

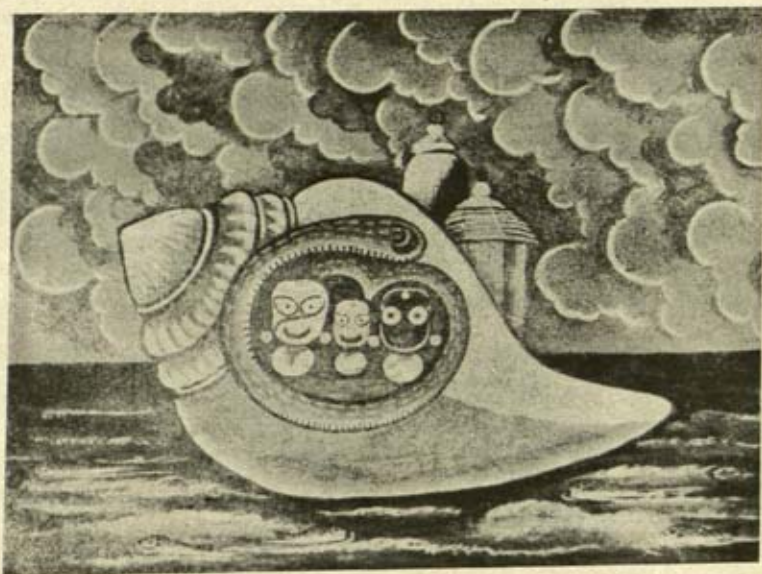
Plate No. 54



Padma-Veśa.

Plate No. 55





Jagannātha in Om-Kāra form.  
*Plate No. 56*



Worship of the Deities.  
*Plate No. 57*



Twin Hari-Hara temple at Gandharādi Boudh.  
*Plate No. 58*





Masāla-Dihudi.  
*Plate No. 59*

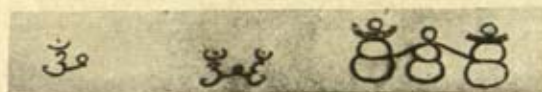


Cakra-Dihudi.  
*Plate No. 60*





( Photostat )



( Photostat )

Om-Kāra form of Jagannātha as conceived by Peterson,  
*Plate No. 61*

74042







CATALOGUE

Central Archaeological Library,  
NEW DELHI.  
74042

Call No. 294.55/Mis

Author—Mishra, K.C

Title—Cult of Jagannatha.

Borrower No.

Date of Issue

Date of Return

K. P. Pandey 15 285 17.7.91

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY  
GOVT. OF INDIA  
Department of Archaeology  
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book  
clean and moving.